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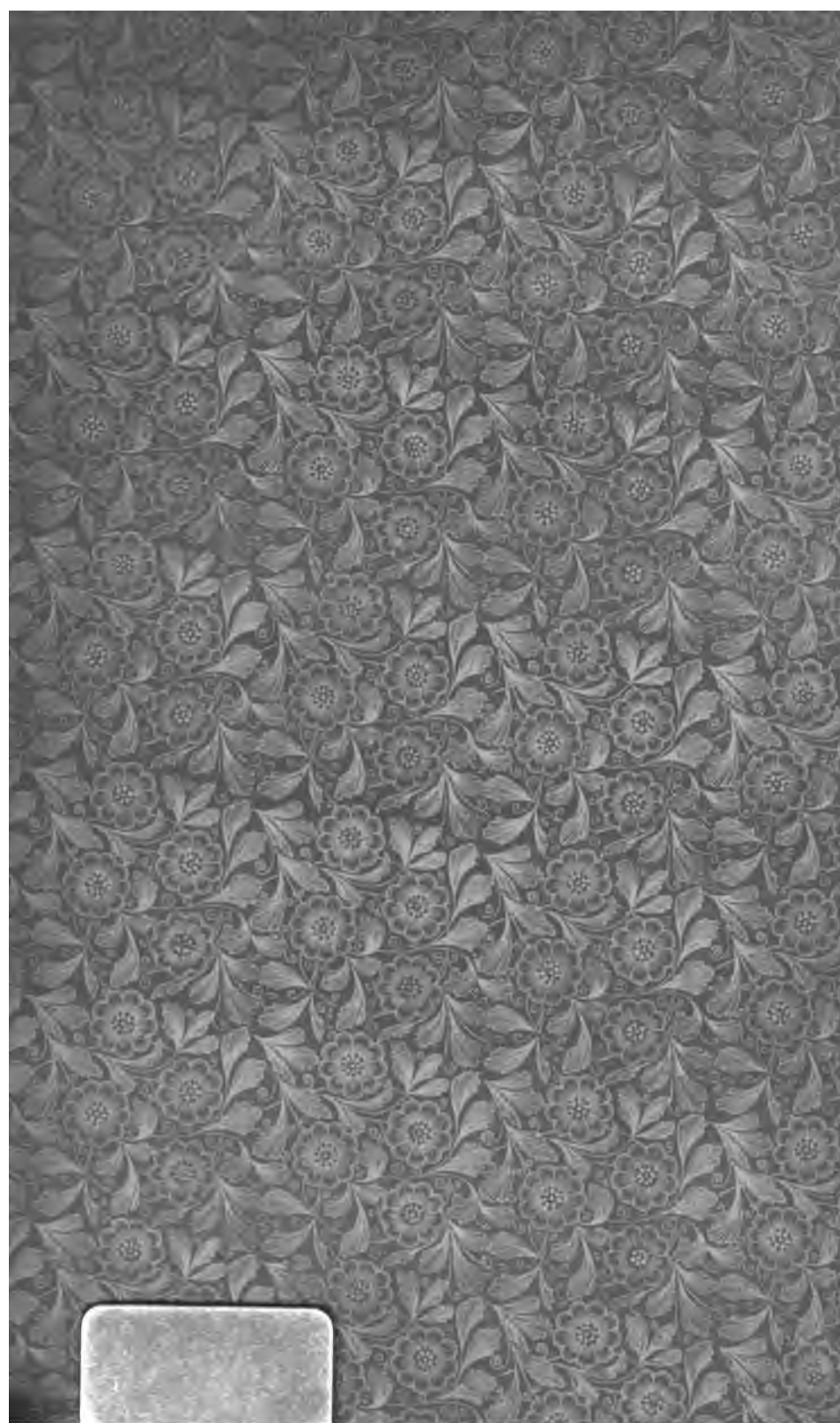
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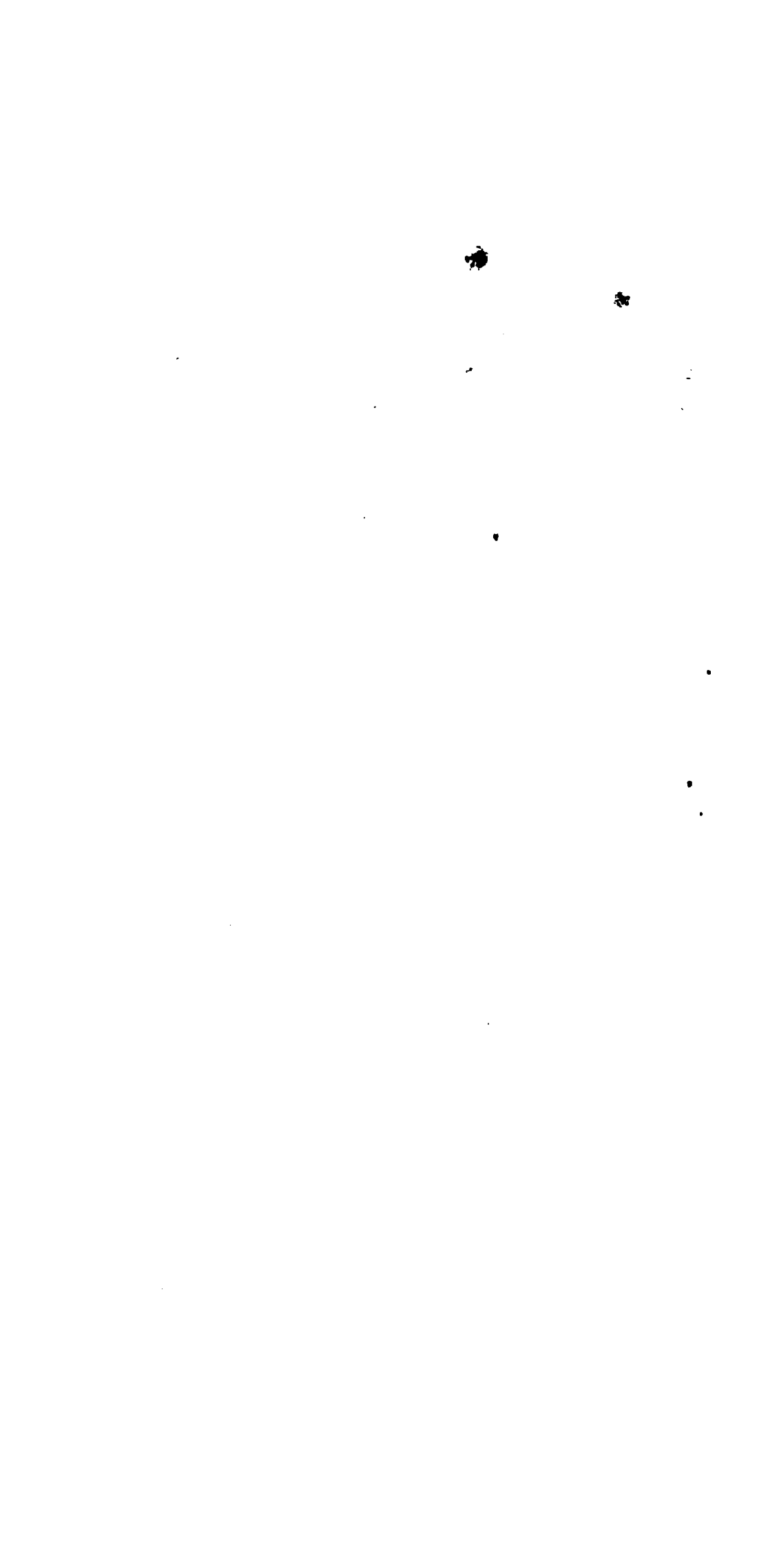




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THE STORY
OF
A SOLDIER'S LIFE.

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78th Highlanders (Ross-Shire Buffs)

Indian Mutiny

78TH HIGHLANDERS (ROSS-SHIRE BUFFS).
PERIOD OF THE INDIAN MUTINY.

1257

THE STORY
OF
A SOLDIER'S LIFE
OR,
PEACE, WAR, AND MUTINY.

BY
LIEUT.-GENERAL JOHN ALEXANDER EWART, C.B.
AIDE-DE-CAMP TO THE QUEEN FROM 1859 TO 1872.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.



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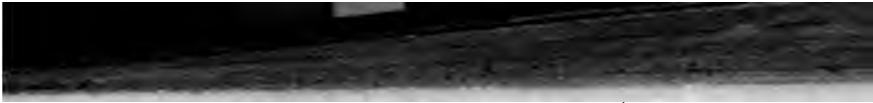
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Part III.

MUTINY.



THE STORY OF A SOLDIER'S LIFE.

CHAPTER I.

Fascally—Castle Newe—The Northern Meeting—Dover Castle
—Presentation of Colours by his Royal Highness the Duke
of Cambridge.

AFTER reporting my arrival at Aldershot I obtained a day's leave, and went up to London for the purpose of visiting my poor father's grave at Kensal Green, my dear mother, who had met me in town, accompanying me to the cemetery. It was a sad afternoon for both of us.

The 93rd Highlanders did not remain long at the camp, being almost immediately afterwards ordered to Dover. On arriving at the latter place, we were ordered to encamp on some ground to the left of the road leading from Archcliff Fort to the Western Heights. Having had almost enough of life in a tent, I applied early in August for leave of absence, to which I considered myself fairly entitled. It was at once granted till the 31st October, and I left Dover, going in the first instance to Canterbury to see my sister, who was residing at St. Thomas's Hill, about a mile from the town. I had the good fortune to come in

for the cricket week, and also for an archery meeting, and spent a most enjoyable fortnight before proceeding on to London. Besides seeing some excellent matches, I was present at a capital ball, and also at some admirable theatrical performances, in which the two Ponsonbys particularly distinguished themselves. I never laughed so much in my life as I did at one piece, which I remember was called "The Mummy." Canterbury is a most interesting place, and one for which I shall always entertain a great regard. I received great kindness there from Major and Mrs. Burrige; my thoughts often go back to their house, and the pleasant evenings I spent under their hospitable roof.

After remaining for a few days in London, I started for Scotland, having received a most kind and pressing invitation from Sir Charles Forbes to visit him at Castle Newe, in Aberdeenshire. At Perth I fell in with Mr. Butter, whose eldest son was a Lieutenant in the 93rd, and as he was good enough to ask me to spend a few days at his beautiful seat near the Pass of Killicrankie, I accompanied him to Fascally, where I was introduced to Mrs. Butter and the rest of his children, and greatly enjoyed myself, the scenery in the neighbourhood being magnificent. After wishing them good-bye, I engaged a conveyance, and travelled across country from Pitlochrie to the Spittal of Glenshee, where I caught the coach for Braemar, remaining at the latter place for the night. The next day, I went on to Castle Newe, receiving a most hearty welcome on my arrival.

The family of Sir Charles Forbes consisted of

one daughter and two sons, and I had not been long at the Castle, before I went off with the latter to a shooting box, a few miles off, where we had some most excellent sport, the grouse being abundant and in capital condition. We remained there some days, and I look back to them as some of the pleasantest I ever spent in my life, for Charlie and George Forbes were two of the nicest lads to be met with anywhere, and both, though mere boys at the time, were first-rate shots. We slept in a room together, and had many a hearty laugh. As we had taken a cook with us, we had grouse every day for dinner, and a trout stream ran close by. At no great distance was an old ruin, called, I think, Corgarff Castle.

On the 20th September a grand ball took place in the large hall at Lonach, in Strathdon, held in honour of its being the anniversary of the battle of Alma. A large party went from Castle Newe, consisting, besides Sir Charles and his family, of Sir William Forbes of Craigievar and his sister, Captain G. Forbes, R.A., and a Mr. Ashburner, H.E.I.C.S.; Lady Radcliffe and her family also came from Edinglassie House, and I think about 250 people must have been present altogether. Besides Campbell and Mearns (pipers to Sir Charles and Sir William Forbes), a good string band was in attendance, and a right merry evening did we all spend; it was indeed a capital ball, as only reels and Scotch country dances were allowed, with perhaps an occasional valse. There was an abundant supply of Colquhounie's whisky punch, and many toasts were drunk.

On the 22nd I bade farewell to the hospitable baronet and his kind-hearted wife, after a delightful visit of sixteen days. Sir Charles very kindly sent me over in his dog-cart to Gartley station, distant about eighteen miles from Newe, and I then took the railroad to Huntley, which was as far at that time as it was finished, coaches conveying the passengers on to Nairn, from which town there was a railroad to Inverness.

On reaching Huntley, the rain fell so fast that I decided to remain there for the night, intending to proceed on by coach the following morning. The next day was also a very wet one, and as the coach was nearly full, I gladly agreed to a proposal, made to me by a gentleman who had also slept at the hotel, to engage a close carriage, and post on to Fochabers. Perhaps I may not have been a little influenced by the fact that he was accompanied by a very beautiful girl of eighteen or nineteen, evidently his daughter. We were soon ready, and I found myself travelling along very pleasantly, without having the slightest idea who my companions were, the landlord at Huntley not knowing their names. They told me that they lived in Argyleshire, I think on the Mull of Cantire, and that they had also a place in the Isle of Wight, but beyond that, I could make out nothing about them, and of course did not press for information. I was very sorry when our drive came to an end, and would gladly have posted all round Scotland, had my companions proposed it.

On arriving at Inverness I found every hotel full, in consequence of the approaching Northern

Meeting, the bedrooms having been engaged for some time previous ; I had, however, the good luck to fall in with a young Lieutenant of the 93rd, named Losack, who at once offered me a room at his mother's house, not far from the town, where he was staying, with his sister and a young lady named Chadwick.

The games commenced on the 25th September, and lasted two days, balls taking place each night. The prizes were awarded as follows :—

Piping : Strathspeys and Marches.—First prize, James Mearns, piper to Sir W. Forbes.

Second prize, Alexander MacIennan, piper 76th Regiment.

Pibrochs.—First prize, John McDonald, pipe-major 92nd Highlanders.

Second prize, John Gray, piper to Gordon of Nethermuir.

Dancing : Highland Fling.—First prize, John Gray, piper to Gordon of Nethermuir.

Reels.—First prize, Alexander Grant, Grantoun ; James Patten, Murthlie.

Second prize, A. W. Fraser, Aird.

Gillie Callum.—First prize, James Patten, Murthlie.

Second prize, A. W. Fraser, Aird.

Throwing the Heavy Hammer.—First prize, William McHardy, Burnside.

Second prize, Grigor Macgregor, Inveruglas.

Throwing the Light Hammer.—First prize, William McHardy, Burnside.

Second prize, Grigor Macgregor, Inveruglas.

Putting the Stone.—First prize, Grigor Macgregor, Inveruglas.

Second prize, James Patten, Murthlie.

Tossing the Cabar.—First prize, William McHardy, Burnside.

Second prize, James Patten, Murthlie.

Foot Race.—First prize, Alexander Matheson, Dingwall.

Second prize, James R. Niven, Aberdeen.

Hurdle Race.—First prize, James R. Niven, Aberdeen.

Second prize, Alexander Matheson, Dingwall.

Best-dressed Highlander, at his own expense.—First prize,
Charles Macpherson, Scalan.
Second prize, Kenneth Maclellan, Lentrane.

Cluny Macpherson acted as one of the judges at the competition, his son Ewen, of the 93rd, being with him, also Mrs. Macpherson and her eldest daughter, an exceedingly pretty girl of seventeen.

I attended both balls, and was not a little delighted to observe in the room my travelling-companions from Huntley, who turned out to be the Hon. A. Macdonald Moreton and his daughter. Amongst those present, were the Earl of Listowell, Lord and Lady Lovat, Lord and Lady Saltoun, Lord Alfred Churchill, the Master of Lovat, Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, Sir James and Lady Anne Mackenzie, Sir Alexander Gordon-Cumming, Sir William Forbes, and Sir David Cunninghame, together with several officers of the 92nd Highlanders from Fort George.

Dancing was kept up each night till about five a.m., and I joined in innumerable reels. Besides the two public balls, I was also at a very good private one, so much enjoyed my visit to Inverness. Whilst there, I was present at a juvenile dance, attended by all Mr. Lowe's pupils; it took place in the afternoon, and was one of the prettiest sights I ever witnessed, reels, country dances, theancers, polkas, and "Pop goes the weasel," following in quick succession; one fine little fellow, dressed as a sailor, also dancing a hornpipe. I noticed one sweet-looking little girl, who I was told was a daughter of Colonel Macintosh, of Farr;

and a very handsome lad, who, I believe, was a son of Lady Mackenzie.

Before coming south, I received a very kind invitation from Cluny Macpherson to visit him at Cluny Castle, and was also invited by Sir William Forbes to Fintray, and by Mr. and Mrs. Grant to Druminar. Time did not permit of my availing myself of their hospitality, and I accordingly travelled to Edinburgh *via* Aberdeen, the coach from Inverness to Perth being unfortunately full.

After sleeping for one night at Macgregor's Hotel, in Prince's Street, I left Edinburgh for Melrose, my kind friend Colonel Spottiswoode meeting me at the station with his carriage. Before leaving Gladswood I went over for a couple of days to Spottiswoode, where I had some excellent shooting, game being abundant and in great variety. I was very sorry to leave the good old Colonel, but was obliged to say good-bye on the 6th October, and travelled south to London, proceeding on after a few days, into Kent.

On the 20th I left Canterbury for Dover, with my mother, crossing the same night to Calais. Several officers of the Foreign Legion, then just broken up, were on board the steamer, and they greatly enlivened the passage across the Channel by singing various songs, many having excellent voices. We remained for about ten days on the Continent, visiting Amiens and Paris. At the latter place we engaged rooms at the Hôtel du Louvre, a very large one, where about 300 people usually sat down daily to dinner at the *table d'hôte*. On our way back we slept for one night at St. Omer.

On the 31st October I rejoined the 93rd Highlanders, at Dover, the regiment having during my absence moved into the Castle. My quarter was in a corner of the large square in which the keep stands, and nearly opposite to it; it consisted of two good rooms and a kitchen.

Dover is a most agreeable place to be stationed at, and I spent a very pleasant winter, attending many balls and parties. Amongst the residents at this time, were Mr. and Mrs. Spencer Stone, Mr. and Mrs. Millett, Mr. and Mrs. Magens, Mr. and Mrs. Ramsbottom, Mr. and Mrs. Minet, Colonel and Mrs. Farrant, Colonel and Mrs. Monins, Mrs. Marjoribanks, Mr. and Mrs. England, Colonel and Mrs. Hamond, Mrs. Ogilvie, Captain and Mrs. Hutchinson, Mr. and Mrs. Hay-Hill, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Smith, Mr. and Mrs. Pitt Smith, Mrs. Rutledge, Miss Knatchbull, Captain and Mrs. McIlwhaine, and Mrs. Starr, who had brought two very pretty daughters from Nova Scotia.

Major-General Duncan Cameron was in command of the garrison, his niece, Miss Cherry, who was particularly nice, residing with him. Besides the 93rd, the 42nd were also quartered at Dover. In the year 1856 the Shaft barracks were not quite finished, but some of the 42nd were stationed there, and also two companies of the 93rd; the remainder of the Royal Highlanders being, I think, at the Citadel.

Early in 1857 rumours reached Dover that the 93rd would shortly be sent to India, and it was not long before we received positive intelligence that such was to be our destination; we accord-

ingly began to make preparations for once more proceeding on foreign service. Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. Adrian Hope had been placed on half-pay, the second lieutenant-colonels of all the regiments who returned from the Crimea having been reduced, and it was thought that as every regiment serving in India had two lieutenant-colonels, an opportunity would now be taken of promoting Major Gordon, who had since the peace been made a Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel. For some little time the matter remained in a state of uncertainty; but it was at last decided by the military authorities, that as Hope had been compulsorily placed on half-pay, he must be brought back to the regiment. It was very hard on Gordon, and almost equally so on myself, as I again lost my chance of becoming senior Major; however, there was no help for it, and as I had formed a strong attachment to Hope, I was glad to see him once more. He joined soon afterwards, and took command of the detachment at the Shaft barracks.

I could still, if I had wished, have obtained substantive rank, and become a Lieut.-Colonel unattached; but I felt that there might be a difficulty in getting back to full pay, and as I detested an idle life, preferred to stick to my regiment, and take the chance of something turning up: it was well that I did so.

We had not been long placed under orders for India, when complications arose with the Emperor of China, and the British Government decided to send out five regiments immediately, for the purpose of attacking Canton. The 93rd was selected

as one of them, and there was therefore a prospect of my again seeing some fighting.

Whilst at Dover I dined one evening with the officers of the Royal Engineers ; Major-General Sir Henry Barnard was present, and a rather singular incident occurred. He was seated next to Glastonbury Neville, when the latter suddenly observed, " Dear me, there are just thirteen present ; how very unlucky ! " or something to that effect. The General noticed the fact, and soon afterwards the conversation changed. At the time in question there was no prospect of either Sir Henry Barnard or Neville being ordered abroad, and yet in less than one year from the day on which the above remark was made, the former had died before Delhi, and the latter had been killed in India by a cannon-shot. Poor little Neville ! as he was always called ; I well remember seeing him, a day or two after we landed in the Crimea, fire his revolver into the middle of a flock of geese which suddenly flew over our heads ; he missed them all, and we had a good laugh at him. He had a capital voice, and sang with much taste.

I have often dined thirteen at table, and never felt any the worse for it ; but many ladies have a nervous dread of the number, and what I have mentioned above will not tend to diminish their dislike to it, absurd, of course, as it is.

As the old Colours, presented by the Duke of Wellington to the Sutherland Highlanders, were now quite worn out from the hard service experienced in the Crimea, it was decided that before embarkation new ones should be procured ; and on the 22nd May the presentation was made in due

form by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge.

The 42nd and 93rd paraded for the ceremony about nine o'clock a.m., and proceeded to the drill-ground on the Western Heights, where an immense concourse of spectators had collected—the old Colours appearing for the last time. At ten o'clock his Royal Highness arrived, accompanied by General Sir Frederick Love, Colonel Forster, Deputy-Adjutant-General, Lieut.-Colonel Tyrwhitt, Aide-de-Camp, and other officers. After the old Colours had been trooped, and a parting salute given to them, the Duke, having received the new ones from the two majors (Brevet-Lieut.-Colonels Gordon and Ewart) handed them to the two senior Ensigns, who received them kneeling. The Colours were then consecrated, the latter ceremony being performed by the Episcopalian Chaplain (the Rev. Mr. Maynard) and the Presbyterian Chaplain (the Rev. Mr. Watson). The 93rd now formed three sides of a square, and his Royal Highness addressed the regiment in a loud clear voice, nearly as follows:—

“Colonel Leith-Hay, officers, and men of the 93rd,—It now becomes my duty, as the individual who has had the honour of presenting these Colours, to address you. I can assure you it is with great satisfaction I have discharged the duty thus devolving upon me. The reason for that satisfaction is very obvious; for I cannot forget that your gallant regiment was in the division I had the honour of commanding during the late struggle in the Crimea. I cannot forget, nor shall I ever cease to remember with pride and

satisfaction, that whatever success then attended my command, I owe to the bravery of the two brigades which I had the honour to have under me. I owe to them, and the distinction they won, that I am at this moment, through the favour of her Most Gracious Majesty, at the head of the British army. That is a position which may well inspire any man with pride; and feeling what I do, it is both natural and proper that I should take special interest in those gallant corps I had the honour to command. In saying this, however, I would not in the least degree be supposed to depreciate the services of a single soldier who fought in the late campaign. I have seen the 93rd behave in a manner which must bring credit on any corps; and I have no fear that, let duty call them where it may, they will fail to sustain the high reputation they have acquired. It would be ungraceful and improper for me now to allude to what is past, as the peace of Europe has now been, I trust, permanently established; but I cannot refrain from saying, that as regards the honour and credit recently earned by the British army, nothing could have been more creditable, noble, and gallant than the conduct of this regiment. You are now about to embark for foreign service, and I am confident you will make it your especial duty to guard the Colours now presented to you with the same jealous feeling of honour and nobleness of conduct as you displayed in the Crimea. It was with a feeling approaching to regret that I saw your old Colours furled for the last time to-day; but the honour and glory attaching to those tattered emblems have now passed

over to their successors, which I give into your charge. You will, I know, do what you are pledged to do—your duty by them ; yes, you will, I feel sure, do your duty to your Queen and country.”

Lieut.-Colonel Leith-Hay then returned thanks for the honour conferred by his Royal Highness upon the regiment, by his presentation of their new Colours. The two regiments then marched past, after which the 93rd returned to the Castle—the Duke, who had dined with the officers on the preceding evening, returning to London. Amongst those who attended the ceremony were Cluny Macpherson, Sir Andrew Leith-Hay, Lord and Lady Alan Churchill, Major-Generals Strauben-zee, Brook, and Wood, Colonel Douglas (79th Highlanders), Lieut.-Colonel Parke (72nd Highlanders), Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. A. M. Cathcart, Lady Tylden, and Lady Cockburn.

An immense marquee (the one used by Lord Granville on the occasion of his visit to Russia) had been pitched close to the Castle keep ; and here a *déjeûner* took place, to which about 400 guests had been invited, followed immediately by a dance. During the evening the old and new Colours were objects of great interest to all ; whilst near them was displayed a venerable relic—the remains of the King’s Colour presented to the 93rd on the original formation of the regiment, in the year 1800, under which 520 officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates fell at New Orleans. Dancing was kept up till a late hour. On the following morning three companies of the 93rd Highlanders, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. Adrian Hope, left Dover for

Portsmouth, for the purpose of embarking for China.

During the stay of the 93rd at Dover his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales visited the Castle, remaining for some time in the officers' mess-room. He looked about fourteen years of age, and seemed to be a very intelligent boy.

On the morning of the 25th May the remainder of the regiment left Dover for Portsmouth, proceeding by rail *via* Hastings and Brighton. The band and pipers of the 42nd assisted in playing us down from the Castle to the station, the streets being thronged with spectators. It was a sad parting for many, and in my own case especially so, as on the previous day I had made an offer of marriage, and been accepted.

CHAPTER II.

Embarkation for China—Cape Verde Islands—Making a discovery—News of the Indian Mutiny—Third visit to the Island of Mauritius—Arrival at Calcutta.

ON our arrival at Portsmouth we were marched to the Clarence barrack, and I dined in the evening with the officers of the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, the 7th Royal Fusiliers also forming part of the garrison. On the 27th one company of the 93rd proceeded to Osborne, for the purpose of remaining there a week as a guard of honour during the visit of the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia.

We soon heard that we were to embark on board the screw-steamer "Mauritius;" but as she was not quite ready for sea, I obtained three days' leave of absence, which enabled me, much to my delight, to pay one more visit to Dover. On my way back to Portsmouth I stopped at Sandhurst, and was present at the public examinations, very glad to see the old College once more. I rejoined the 93rd on the 4th June, and was sorry to hear that I had again missed a review before the Queen, as I found that her Majesty had inspected the regiment that very morning. I also learnt that Adrian Hope, with

three companies, had left for Plymouth to embark in H.M.S. "Belleisle."

On the 12th June the "Mauritius" made her appearance; but no sooner had she arrived than it was discovered she could not possibly accommodate the remainder of the regiment. General Breton, who was in command at Portsmouth, at once telegraphed for permission to leave a field-officer and 100 men behind; and I was told that I should have to remain for another vessel—probably the "Melville" or "Princess Charlotte." My baggage had been sent to the dockyard, but had fortunately not been taken off to the "Mauritius" steamer. Late on the 15th I was again sent for, and told that I was to embark in the "Mauritius" after all, as it had been finally decided to leave only Captain Sprot, Ensign Mackenzie, and fifty men. My Naval brother had arrived in the morning, and we dined together at the "George."

On the 16th I was up at four a.m., and before ten o'clock we were all on board the "Mauritius," four companies of the 23rd Fusiliers also embarking for China in the "Cleopatra" steamer. I was much amused during the afternoon watching a man go down in a diving-dress. The men of the 93rd were soon comfortably settled, but many were in sad trouble, having had to leave behind them their wives and children. We were going on active service, so no women could be taken.

At daylight on the 17th June the "Mauritius" proceeded to Spithead to take in her powder. At half-past nine a.m. the pilot left us, and we started with a fair and fresh breeze for China, expecting

to reach Singapore in about three months. She was a vessel of about 1500 tons, but her engines were not powerful ones, nor could she carry much coal; the Captain therefore intended to make a great portion of the voyage under sail only.

Having a cabin to myself I was tolerably well off, but we had some disagreeable weather after crossing the Bay of Biscay, and not a few felt very uncomfortable. When we had been at sea about three days, the "Cleopatra," with the headquarters of the 23rd Fusiliers on board, passed us. We were under sail only, at the time, whereas she was steaming. Our Captain (a very good fellow and capital sailor, named Cruikshanks) declared we should still reach Singapore before her. On the 25th, at daylight, we went close by the island of Madeira.

The north-east trade-wind blew us along famously, and the men soon all recovered their spirits, singing songs and dancing reels of an evening, the band and pipers also playing every day from five till seven o'clock, when fine. I had taken out a good supply of books, and was able to lend several. We had a cow on board, which gave a fair quantity of milk, and there was no lack of either provisions or wine. Water, too, was fortunately abundant, as the "Mauritius," when steaming, could distil 700 gallons a day.

On the 30th June we reached St. Vincent, one of the Cape Verde Islands, having previously passed close to another, called St. Antonio, one of the peaks of which is 7400 feet high, coming to an anchor in Porto Grando harbour at a little before nine o'clock a.m. I was soon able to get

on shore, but found the town to be a wretched place, consisting of a few miserable-looking houses, containing perhaps 200 inhabitants, partly Portuguese and partly blacks. I caught sight of two pigs and three hens, but saw no other animals or birds, and could get nothing but a bottle of rascally lemonade, for which I was charged a shilling. The Consul, married to a Portuguese lady, seemed to be the only Englishman on the island. He told me that small-pox was raging amongst the black population.

H.M.S. "Volcano" (a sort of floating workshop, bound to China) was coaling when we arrived, also a steamer bound to Australia; we were therefore obliged to wait till it came to our turn. The weather was warm, but not so hot as I expected. Unfortunately we could not bathe, the vessel being surrounded by sharks. On the 1st July the Brazilian mail steamer, bound to England, touched at the island, and the Consul declared that she, too, must be coaled before us; we were therefore obliged to submit to our fate, though most anxious to push on.

It was late on the 4th July before we got away, but we managed to cross the equator on the 12th. The captain then decided to use his sails only, and we ran nearly close-hauled, but with the fore-topmast studding-sail set, for some time—the south-east trade-wind obliging us to steer a course, as usual, towards South America. The weather continued fine until the 26th, when a south-west gale set in, and for two days it blew very hard indeed. We were, however, able to lay our course, and ran nearly 1100 miles in five

days, under sail only, the "Mauritius" being a full-rigged ship. Captain Cruikshanks was anxious to make a quick passage, and now steered direct for the Cape of Good Hope, expecting to get the wind from the north-west. In this he was disappointed; and it would have been better, I think, if he had kept his vessel farther to the southward, as we soon fell in with a south-easter, and the "Mauritius" got jammed in the same way as the old "Boyne." We had very rough weather for some time, and as my cabin was too small to permit of my slinging a hammock, it was not easy to get much sleep. Our coals, too, had now begun to run short, and our chance of being the first regiment to reach China seemed a bad one. One day a man of the 93rd fell overboard, but he was luckily a good swimmer, and we picked him up. He was smoking at the time, and had the pluck to keep his pipe in his mouth; also saving his cap. The conversation, of course, turned daily upon the approaching war, and we hoped to reach Canton without experiencing a typhoon. The general idea was that the fighting would soon be over; but I made a bet about this time of five pounds with a brother officer, that we should still be in China that day twelvemonths—a bet which I afterwards paid, though we never even saw the country.

It being now winter at the Cape the weather had begun to get very cold, a great change after the heat we had experienced near the equator. I was now glad to put on all the warm things I possessed. My books were a great resource, and I read about this time the life of Sir Charles Napier.

He was a great man, and ought to have been made a peer. Occasionally I amused myself taking observations, and working out the latitude and longitude, the Captain kindly lending me his sextant, as he found I understood the use of it, and could "take," as it is called, the sun or a star. A Parliamentary Blue Book, sent to me by my cousin, Mr. William Ewart, M.P., containing the Report of the Commissioners appointed to consider the best mode of reorganizing the system for training officers for the scientific corps, together with an account of foreign and other military education, interested me greatly.

As regards our life on board, I may mention that we breakfasted at nine, lunched at twelve, dined at four, and had tea at half-past seven. On one occasion we had all the pipers into the saloon to play during dinner; the wind was aft at the time, and the vessel was rolling a great deal. The scene, therefore, as they marched, or rather *tried* to march round the table, was laughable in the extreme, and the nature of the music must be imagined.

It was during this voyage, when we were sailing along, miles as we thought distant from any land, that the cry "Breakers ahead!" was suddenly shouted by a man in one of the tops. Of course the Captain was speedily on deck, and all hands were on the look-out. Presently, sure enough, an island could be distinctly made out; and as the weather was fine, the Captain lay-to, and lowered a boat, sending one of his mates to pull in, with a boat's crew, towards the breakers. After a short absence they returned, the mate, to our great

amusement, informing the Captain that it was a dead whale.

Those who are acquainted with the naval charts may have noticed one or two islands marked down, with the word "doubtful" over them. I had during my first voyage out to Mauritius asked the Captain about these islands, and had been informed that various Captains of merchantmen had reported, on arrival home, that in about such and such latitude and longitude they had seen an island, no doubt hoping to immortalize themselves thereby. He told me that he did not himself believe in such islands, and that he would have no hesitation in steering right on to one. I am disposed to think he was right, and that, thanks to fine weather, we had been able to solve the mystery of these doubtful islands. Had the weather been thick or stormy the "Mauritius" would have given these breakers a wide berth, and the Captain on arrival in London would have reported the discovery of one more island, to which he would perhaps have given his name. Numbers of sea birds appeared to be feasting on the whale, which was the largest I have ever seen, the sea for some distance round it being covered with oil.

We had a monkey on board, but one day he unfortunately fell overboard and was drowned. As we approached the Cape plenty of Cape hens and Cape pigeons usually surrounded the ship, and by baiting a hook we managed to catch a large albatross, which measured just nine feet between the tips of its wings. We let it go again directly, as sailors do not like these birds to be

killed ; indeed I once heard a man say that he felt sure they were the ghosts of dead admirals. Cape hens are black, and Cape pigeons a sort of piebald.

Numbers of homeward-bound vessels were now to be seen, and one called the "Alliance," from the island of Mauritius, bound to the Clyde, passed close to us. She lowered her royals as a compliment, seeing that we had troops on board. No doubt her passengers and crew were all in high spirits, as she was slashing along with studding-sails, or stunsails, as they are always called, alow and aloft.

On the 11th August we at last reached the Cape of Good Hope, coming to an anchor in Simon's Bay about eight o'clock p.m., after steaming all day against a foul wind. It was nearly dark, but we could make out a large vessel, which looked very like the "Belleisle," and on sounding the 93rd regimental call, it was, to our great delight, immediately answered, Adrian Hope and several other officers coming on board the "Mauritius" directly afterwards, together with Captain Robb, R.N. We found that they had arrived only three days before us, having lost one private during the passage. They brought us the news of the breaking out of the mutiny in India, and we were all soon in a great state of excitement, as we found that the whole of the troops ordered to China were to proceed on to Calcutta with all possible speed, Lord Canning having begged the Governor of the Cape to stop each regiment as it arrived, and send it on without delay, matters being in a most critical state.

All sorts of reports were flying about, but it seemed certain that General Anson was dead, and that Sir Henry Barnard was besieging Delhi. Poor Burroughs, of the 93rd, was in a sad state, as there was a rumour that his father had been murdered. Curiously enough, only on the previous day I had given it as my opinion, at the mess-table, that there would ere long be a mutiny in India, and now no sooner had we anchored than my prophecy turned out to be a true one.

The "Cleopatra," with the 23rd Fusiliers, had reached the Cape six days before us, and had already been despatched to Calcutta. Troops had also been sent from the Cape, including some of the Royal Artillery, who embarked in H.M.S. "Penelope."

The expedition to China was now knocked altogether on the head, and every one was determined to save India if possible. H.M.S. "Belleisle" sailed on the 12th, and after we had taken in a supply of provisions and water, and filled up with coals (working night and day), we steamed off as hard as we could go to the island of Mauritius, *en route* for Calcutta, getting away on the 16th August. Most of the officers managed to get a look at Cape Town, but as I had seen so much of that place in previous voyages I remained on board.

We ran 2000 miles in ten days, but encountered another gale of wind, a tremendous sea striking us on the night of the 24th, which came into the saloon and partly filled my cabin. We were luckily able to keep our course under double-reefed topsail, but our screw unfortunately received most serious damage, one of the fans being

broken off. We hoped that it might be possible to repair it at Port Louis, as we were most anxious to reach Calcutta.

The mutiny was of course now the daily topic of conversation, and I felt thankful that several regiments were on their way out, the number of European troops in India having been much diminished: We were naturally anxious to learn who would succeed General Anson, and I came to the conclusion that it would be either Sir Patrick Grant, an excellent officer, then in command at Madras, or Sir Colin Campbell.

On the 27th we were once more in the tropics, passing on that day a large steamer, which we took to be the "England," with the 89th Regiment on board, bound to Bombay from the Cape; she was, however, too far off to be made out clearly. I was now once more fast approaching the old island of Mauritius, a place I had never expected to revisit.

On the 28th, about five p.m., we sighted the land, and soon the different mountains, so familiar to me in days gone by, stood out clear against the sky. We lay-to during the night for a few hours, coming to an anchor in Port Louis harbour the following morning. I was soon on shore, and was immediately seized upon by several old friends, though of course ten years had made a great change. The news that I had arrived soon spread, and many old cricketers and others crowded round me. It was pleasant to receive such a hearty welcome; and Mr. Surtees, who had become Chief Judge, most kindly begged me to make his house my home.

Of the three regiments stationed on the island, the 5th Fusiliers had already started for Calcutta and the 33rd for Bombay, the 4th King's Own alone remaining. I walked up to the barracks and looked anxiously at the newspapers, from which I learnt that the mutineers were still in possession of Delhi, and that Sir Henry Lawrence had died of his wounds at Lucknow, a terrible loss! There had, I found, been a fight near Cawnpore, in which the 78th Highlanders had behaved with great gallantry; and my old corps, the 35th, was, I saw, moving up. There was, alas! a long list of murdered Europeans, and Lieut.-Colonel Case, of the 32nd, was stated to have been killed; there was also a nasty rumour that two companies of the 84th had been cut to pieces at Cawnpore, under General Wheeler. Sir Colin Campbell had, as I anticipated, been ordered out at once, to replace General Anson.

The "England" arrived at Port Louis on the 29th with the 89th on board, and as she anchored close to the 93rd the two regiments cheered each other tremendously, after which their bands played various airs: she coaled rapidly, and started again the same afternoon for Bombay.

On the 30th H.M.S. "Penelope" came in from the Cape, and we were much delighted at having beaten her by five days. A large steamer called the "Assaye" also arrived from Bombay, having been sent to fetch troops from the Cape. Rather a good joke occurred in connexion with her, one though which might have turned out very seriously as regards myself. It was late when she anchored, but as we were all most

anxious to hear the latest news from India, I proposed to Gordon, after it was dark, to go on board; he at once assented, so we accordingly got a boat and pulled off. No one hailed us as we ran alongside, so finding a ladder down we went up, and sent in our names to the Captain. Our horror may be imagined, when we were told that the Health Officer had not yet been on board! We thought that he had of course visited the vessel, as she had been at anchor some time. Fortunately no cases of cholera or any other serious disease had occurred; had there been any, we could not have left the "Assaye," and must have gone with her to the Cape. The Captain behaved very well in the matter, and let us go, on our promising not to say a word to a soul about our visit, making the same promise himself. He very kindly gave us some late Indian newspapers, and away we went, back to our own steamer, laughing heartily, but taking care to keep the secret to ourselves till clear of Port Louis, for there was a penalty for going on board a vessel until it had been visited by the Health Officer.

On Sunday I read prayers to the men on board, and afterwards attended evening service at the English Church at Port Louis. I also paid a visit to the old Champ de Mars, the scene of so many of my cricket triumphs in former days, and the spot where I had taken so many pleasant strolls; it looked sadly deserted now, and I came to the conclusion that the fair Isle of France was not quite what it used to be.

It was found impossible to repair our broken

screw at Port Louis, so the Captain decided to start as we were, and trust to his sails. The great Indian festival, or "Yampsey" as it was always called, having commenced on the 31st, our coaling was rather retarded, but we managed to complete it at last, and started once more, on the 1st September. Our stay at Mauritius had not exceeded three days, so I was unable to visit any of my old friends in the country. As the island receded from my view, I could not help thinking how strange it was that I should have visited it a third time, and in a vessel called by its very name.

Captain Cruikshanks was a very able seaman, and he soon found that he could use his screw with one fan only. We accordingly, by steaming and sailing made good progress, and again crossed the equator (my eighth time) on the 9th September, passing the island of Ceylon on the 12th, but not touching there. The heat was now very great, the thermometer standing at 86° in the shade. Flying fish were seen in great numbers, one falling on the deck, and several small birds and butterflies visited the ship. The latter must have been blown off shore, as they certainly would not have come to sea from choice, a distance of 200 miles.

We now entered the Bay of Bengal, and passed Madras on the 15th. Two days afterwards we fell in with a vessel from Calcutta, and at once signalled "Have you any news?" to which she replied, "You are anxiously expected," but gave us no further intelligence: she was some distance off. The only conclusion we could arrive at, was,

that the fighting was still going on, and that nothing decisive had happened.

We had experienced some nasty squalls, with heavy rain, thunder, and lightning, and as the barometer began to fall considerably, we feared we were in for a hurricane. Fortunately it turned out a false alarm, and the weather again became fine. Cables were now bent to the anchors, and preparations made for landing, as on the 17th we were in latitude $18^{\circ} 29'$ north and longitude $87^{\circ} 13'$ east, being only 170 miles from the pilot-station at the Sandheads.

On the 18th we managed to get a pilot, but had to anchor for the night on account of the tide. The following morning, we proceeded on our way, and passed Sauger Island—a swampy-looking place, covered with jungle, and full of tigers—but had again to anchor in the Hoogly, at a spot called Diamond Harbour, about sixty miles from Calcutta, where we received a visit from a bumboat woman with eggs and fruit. Very curious indeed is the first sight of land on approaching India, as instead of lofty mountains, as at the island of Mauritius, Cape of Good Hope, and Teneriffe, all that you see are the tops of some trees, apparently standing in the water, the country being perfectly flat. The Hoogly seemed to be a muddy sort of river, and nearly as thick as pea-soup, with the tide apparently running about seven knots an hour.

The “Adventure,” with part of the 82nd on board, reached the pilot-station just as we did. This was one of the regiments ordered to Canton, but which had not been stopped till it reached

Singapore; we of course cheered each other tremendously. A boat from the telegraph-station soon boarded us, and we learnt that the "Cleopatra," with the 23rd Fusileers, had arrived on the previous day; we had therefore made a good race of it from Portsmouth, having started on the same day. Neither the "Belleisle" nor "Penelope" had passed by, so we had beaten them both from the Cape. It was rather curious that we should have made the passage from England to the Sandheads in exactly ninety-three days, the number of the regiment. All on board were well, and we had not lost a man.

The day we anchored a total eclipse of the sun took place, and it became very dark; whether this was a bad omen for ourselves or the rebels, remained to be proved! The pilot informed us that Delhi was still in the hands of the mutineers, and that Sir Colin Campbell had arrived at Calcutta. Sir Henry Barnard had died of cholera, the command of the troops besieging Delhi devolving upon Major-General Archdale Wilson.

On the morning of the 20th we were off again, and exactly at half-past three in the afternoon reached Calcutta, coming to an anchor close to Fort William. Our voyage was now fairly over, and we considered it a most auspicious circumstance that we should have arrived on the anniversary of the battle of Alma. Our progress up the river had been most exciting, and on passing Garden Reach we received quite an ovation, the gentlemen cheering tremendously, and the ladies waving their handkerchiefs from the windows of the houses. As the men were all in their kilts,

and the pipers playing on deck, everybody on shore could see we were a Highland regiment. One of Sir Colin Campbell's Aides-de-Camp (Fred. Alison, of the 72nd) soon came on board, and we heard that we should probably at once be sent on to Chinsura.

On getting to Calcutta we heard the dreadful intelligence of the massacre at Cawnpore, and I was beyond measure distressed to see the name of my cousin, Colonel John Ewart, of the 1st Bengal Native Infantry, in the list of those murdered; also those of his poor wife and daughter. Matters seemed to be getting worse and worse in India, and we were thankful that we had arrived.

CHAPTER III.

Lord Canning—Chinsura—Barrackpore—Journey in bullock-carts up the Great Trunk Road—Benares—Allahabad—Futtehpoore.

ON the morning of the 21st I landed at Calcutta, and called on Sir Colin Campbell, who gave me a most hearty welcome. The old General was in high spirits at the arrival of the 93rd, and was delighted when I told him that the regiment was 1000 strong, exclusive of officers. The "Belle-isle" had reached the Sandheads, so she was close after us. Sir Colin, who was staying at Government House, kept me talking on various subjects for a couple of hours, and then accompanied me on board the "Mauritius," where he was loudly cheered. In the evening I had the honour of dining with the Governor-General, Lord Canning, who very kindly made me sit next to himself. It was a very large party, Lady Canning, Sir Colin Campbell, Sir William Mansfield, and many others, being present. During the evening I made the acquaintance of Mrs. Talbot, a most charming person, wife of the private secretary; she sent me on the following day a large number of newspapers, which were very acceptable, and eagerly read by all on board. Lord

Canning seemed to be a particularly gentleman-like man, but looked pale and anxious. I had a great deal of conversation with him, and he told me he should send off the "Mauritius" steamer again, immediately, to Ceylon, to fetch the 50th Regiment. The temperature on shore was decidedly warm, and a black servant stood behind Lady Canning, fanning her during dinner: one of the Staff told me that the native in question would be equally happy to cut her throat, or the throat of any one of us present at the table. In fact, at this time there seemed to be a general feeling of insecurity, though the Governor-General himself remained perfectly calm.

On the 22nd September Lieut.-Colonel Leith-Hay received orders to send off 350 men of the 93rd to Chinsura, under a field-officer, and I was selected to command the detachment. We started at ten a.m. in a large river-boat attached to a steam-tug, and reached our destination at half-past four in the afternoon, the distance by water being about forty miles, though, I believe, only about twenty-five by land. My men were all in their kilts, and as I had three pipers with me, who discoursed sweet music, we astonished the natives not a little as we steamed up the Hoogly, numbers of people coming out to look at us as we passed Barrackpore, and the French settlement of Chandernagore.

On arriving at Chinsura I found no troops of any sort, except about half-a-dozen Sepoys belonging to one of the disarmed regiments. The barrack appeared to be an excellent one. I soon got my men comfortably settled, and after post-

ing my sentries, took a look at the town, situated close to the river. There seemed to be but few Europeans in the place, but I was told that the native population numbered about 16,000. I found a good hotel, and noticed a few carriages driving about.

On the 24th the remainder of the 93rd who had come out in the "Mauritius" reached Chinsura; and on the 25th the three companies who had arrived in the "Belleisle," under Adrian Hope, also made their appearance. I should mention, that the officers who had embarked in the "Mauritius," before leaving Calcutta presented to Captain Cruikshanks a silver snuff-box and an address, in testimony of his kindness and courtesy during the voyage, and of the care he had taken of his vessel. He well deserved this mark of respect, for I never sailed with a captain who displayed greater watchfulness in bad weather.

I was now fortunate enough to secure a first-rate servant, a Madras native, who had been left behind sick by some other regiment; his name was Cheney, and he could speak English. No horses could be procured.

On the 29th I paid a visit to my old corps, the 35th Royal Sussex, stationed at this time at Barrackpore. A railway ran from Raneegunge to Howrah, opposite Calcutta, passing within two miles of Chinsura; so I drove to the nearest station, called Hoogly, and took a ticket to Serampore, from which place I crossed the river in a boat to Barrackpore, receiving a most hearty welcome from both officers and men. The regi-

ment was, I found, employed in guarding 3000 disarmed Sepoys; the two flank companies had, however, been left at Berhampore. My old Captain, Hutchinson, who had been with me at Borisokane, in Tipperary, had succeeded to the command of the 35th, and he most kindly offered to lend me any money I wanted, up to 1000*l.*, for the purchase of horses or anything else I might require. It was most considerate of him, but I fortunately had no need to avail myself of his kindness. After spending a very pleasant afternoon, I returned to Chinsura. All our heavy baggage had been landed at Calcutta, and placed in store at Thacker and Spink's, so I went there by rail to procure a few things before starting up country. I found it impossible to purchase a charger, so had to trust to the chance of capturing one from the mutineers.

We had not been long at Chinsura before we received orders to proceed on to Allahabad, and on the 28th September the grenadier company started, under Captain Middleton, proceeding, in the first instance, by rail to Raneegunge, which was as far as the railway was at that time completed. Only one company could be forwarded at a time, as we found the authorities had made arrangements to send us on from Raneegunge to Allahabad in bullock-carts.

About the 1st October we received the cheering intelligence that Delhi had been taken, also that Havelock and Outram had succeeded in fighting their way into Lucknow, after heavy loss, Brigadier-General Neill being unfortunately amongst the killed. An excellent officer, Captain Lumsden,

of the Company's Service, was about this time attached to the 93rd, for the purpose of acting as interpreter. English news up to 26th August reached Calcutta by dâk from Bombay early in October, and it was now known, therefore, that strong reinforcements were on their way from England. The 13th Light Infantry had arrived from the Cape, so the Colonies were in the mean time doing their best to send on help.

Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 companies followed the grenadiers in regular succession, and on the 5th October I received orders to start with No. 5 company, the Colours of the regiment being at the same time entrusted to my charge, a serious responsibility, as there was every chance of our being attacked on the road. The officers with my detachment were Lieutenants Cooper and Grimston, Ensign Tuffnell, and a young Lieutenant of the 75th Regiment, who had been attached to the 93rd until he could join his own corps.

We proceeded to Raneegunge by rail, after which we travelled on in bullock-carts by the following route :—

6th October, arrived at Tuldangah.....	25 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles.
7th " " Fitcooree	25 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
8th " " Doomree	27 "
9th " " Buskuttee	27 $\frac{3}{4}$ "
10th " " Chouparan	27 $\frac{3}{4}$ "
11th " " Barra.....	19 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
12th " " Sherghotty	14 "
13th " " Nourungabad ...	29 $\frac{3}{4}$ "
14th " " Dehree	14 "
15th " " Jehanabad.....	26 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
16th " " Noubutpore	29 "
17th " " Benares	29 $\frac{1}{4}$ "

As Raneegunge is just 125 miles from Calcutta, we had therefore, on arriving at Benares, accomplished a distance of $421\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the capital of Bengal. My detachment occupied about twenty-four carts altogether, four men travelling in a cart drawn by two bullocks. We usually started about four p.m., journeying by night in order to avoid the heat of the sun. It was very slow work, as we could only go about two and a quarter miles an hour, the jolting being terrible. Our bullocks were changed every eight or nine miles, and the coolie drivers also. Occasionally a bullock declined to proceed, and this of course caused a general halt. Sometimes a wheel would come off, and whilst endeavouring to put matters to rights, away would go the bullocks, causing a grand smash. Fortunately we had fine weather, and I came to the conclusion that the life of a gipsy must on the whole be rather a jovial one. I made a rule never to go to sleep when on the road, and generally walked a great part of the distance each night, resting myself during the day. One cart carried provisions and rum for the men. I had procured some tea and sugar at Calcutta, and a few other articles for myself, rations not being issued to the officers as in the Crimea.

Between Barra and Sherghotty we had three unbridged rivers to cross, and between Nourungabad and Dehree we had to cross a very wide river, called the Soane. It took three hours to get the whole of my men to the other side.

On the night of the 17th I was walking along by myself, at some little distance ahead of the

carts, when to my astonishment I suddenly found that the road ceased, and right in front of me ran a magnificent river. It was the Ganges, and on the other side lay the celebrated town of Benares. We had to be taken across in boats, as there was no bridge.

I had received orders to telegraph each day to Calcutta, so directly we halted I sent off a message, reporting the state of the country we had passed through. The commander of each detachment also usually wrote a few lines in pencil on the wall of the bungalow where the halt took place. Some of the remarks were highly entertaining. It was curious to see the quantity of beautiful birds seated on the telegraph wires as we slowly wended our way; and at night the hedges resembled a blaze of light from the myriads of fire-flies.

Being determined if possible to give my men one good night's rest, I decided, after leaving Chouparan, to push on to Sherghotty, instead of halting at Barra as the other detachments in front of me had all done. The total distance was thirty-three and a half miles, but we managed it very well, astonishing not a little the company we caught up. By this plan we got a halt of forty-eight hours, which refreshed us all very much. I found several prisoners at Sherghotty, who had been lately captured, and one of them was hung by the police whilst I was there. Captain Stanton, of the Company's Engineers, very kindly asked me to tiffin, and was very civil. He was, I think, in command of the police at Sherghotty, and seemed to be very active.

Our march up the country was a very amusing one, though of course I had to keep a good lookout, especially as we had charge of the Colours. The Dunwa, or Dhunwah Pass, was the most gloomy part of our journey, wood and jungle extending on each side for miles, which was no doubt full of tigers. We did not, however, see one, nor did the rebels take the opportunity of forming an ambush. A day or two after, I was walking along one morning some little distance in front of the carts, when just as it was beginning to get light I suddenly saw a wild beast close to my right, taking a look at me. I was quite alone, but having my revolver fastened round my waist, did not much care. Presently the brute disappeared into the jungle, no doubt hearing the noise of the carts in the distance. It looked something like a leopard. On another occasion I saw a wolf seated in a field. The native drivers told me to look out for snakes, but I fortunately never trod upon one. We passed and met numbers of elephants employed by the Commissariat Department, and I was greatly entertained one day by a huge fellow engaged in washing himself in a pond.

I made prisoners one night of an armed party of natives. There were twelve altogether, three being mounted on beautiful Arab horses. The one who seemed to be the chief got into an awful rage at being stopped. He had on a very handsome sword and belt. As my Madras servant was with me I got him to act as an interpreter, and the distinguished stranger then informed me that he had been merely dining out with a friend, and

was returning home. He looked as if he was speaking the truth; and as some of my drivers stated that they knew him quite well, I decided to let him go, at the same time recommending him to stay at home for the future. I also took care to tell him that thousands of British troops were on their way out from England. Being in want of a charger, I consider that I showed great forbearance in letting slip so good an opportunity of obtaining a mount.

We saw on one occasion some of the 53rd Regiment on the march, also some Madras Native Artillery, with about 200 of the Military Train.

At Benares I found Captain C. W. McDonald's company, as he had received orders by telegram to wait for me—a body of some 800 mutineers being reported to be near Allahabad. This increased the strength of my detachment to 168 men. The surgeon of the 93rd (Dr. Munro) had accompanied McDonald, and I was very glad to pick him up, in case we should have a fight.

On the night of the 17th I left Benares, pushing on thirty-five miles to Gopeegunj. Here we halted; and as soon as the men had dined I again prepared to start. I was now, however, told that the enemy were only ten miles off, so had to proceed with some caution, more especially as night was approaching. We had only gone a few miles when, suddenly, bang went a gun, apparently a 6-pounder, about a mile to my left, followed almost immediately by a second. It was now quite dark, so I could see nothing; but at once halted, and formed up my carts, thirty-seven in number, as close together as I could—a difficult proceeding

with bullocks and black drivers. A third gun was now fired, and voices could be heard; a light or two was also seen approaching. I therefore ordered my detachment to load, and prepared for a little fight of my own, quite determined to defend the Colours to the last. Luckily I had with me a very intelligent young officer belonging to the Company's Service who could speak Hindostanee; so before opening fire, I decided to send him quietly forward with one or two of my men, for the purpose of reconnoitring. In a short time he returned, and reported that he had met a large procession engaged in celebrating a wedding, but that they had dispersed in all directions on catching sight of his Highlanders. We all laughed heartily, and I felt most thankful that I had not favoured our supposed enemy with a volley. We then resumed our march; and although some Sikh cavalry whom I fell in with informed me that about 1500 rebels were in the neighbourhood, I saw nothing of them. I certainly did come across three artillery Sepoys, but they had regular furloughs, and stated that they were returning to Allahabad from leave; so I neither shot nor hung them, though they perhaps deserved it. Previous to the above-mentioned occasion, I had never once ordered the men to load since leaving Chinsura, as I dreaded an accident from the jolting of the carts, and felt sure that I should always have plenty of time to do so, by keeping a sharp look-out. As it was, a man got a bullet through his leg at one of our halting-stations, through the carelessness of an officer's servant when handling his master's revolver.

Another man, belonging to one of the other detachments, died from cholera, and one was drowned.

On arrival at Allahabad on the 19th October, I found that Adrian Hope had been ordered to march on with the grenadiers, Nos. 1, 2, and 3 companies, to Futtehpoore, situated about half way between Allahabad and Cawnpore. I received orders to encamp in a very pretty spot, called the Allopee Bagh, where there were a great many mango-trees; in fact a sort of grove, about half a mile from the Ganges. A large fort was at no great distance, in which there were about 500 sailors and marines, under Captain Peel, R.N. Colonel Campbell, of the 2nd Dragoon Guards, had assumed command at the station, as he had come out from England by the overland route. His regiment had not yet arrived, having been sent *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope.

Allahabad seemed to be a large place, and the natives were evidently very numerous. They were quite quiet now, but this was the place where the 6th Native Infantry had shot down and bayoneted all their officers, except three who escaped.

Other companies of the 93rd began to arrive at Allahabad, and on the 22nd October I received sudden orders to proceed on immediately to Cawnpore with four officers and 100 men, being again sent off in bullock-carts, or, I should rather say, wagons, for this time they were larger. There was a railway from Allahabad as far as a place called Lohunga, distant about forty-eight miles, and Hope had been sent off by rail, with instructions to march on from the latter place.

Our route lay by Kohilwa, Kossiah, Lohunga, and Arrapoor, to Futtehpore, distant seventy-two miles from Allahabad. Futtehpore is a place of some importance, with a fort near the town, and Havelock had fought a battle there in the previous month of June. On the night of the 24th I had arrived within fourteen miles of it, when I was met by an officer on horseback with a letter, requiring immediate assistance, as the rebels had crossed the Jumna, and were preparing to attack the fort. I pushed on as rapidly as possible, rather expecting that an attempt would be made to cut me off, but saw nothing of the enemy, and arrived safely at the fort. Here I found Captain Cornwall's company of the 93rd, which had been left by Adrian Hope, who had marched on with his three other companies towards Cawnpore. Besides the Highlanders, the fort contained only, at this time, about twenty artillerymen, and thirty sick belonging to the 5th Fusiliers and 90th Light Infantry, which regiments had gone on with Outram. The fort was a small one, armed with only two guns, and Captain Cornwall begged me to remain, as he expected to be attacked instantly. My orders were to push on to Cawnpore without delay, so I was rather doubtful how to act; I decided however to remain for the day, and took steps at once to find out if the enemy were really at hand. After a short time I learnt that the mutineers had not actually crossed the Jumna, though they evidently contemplated doing so, and were apparently only about eighteen miles off. I now felt that I must obey my orders and push on, as help was urgently required at Lucknow, and my

wagons were also wanted back at Allahabad to bring on more troops. I was also aware that some of the Naval Brigade, with four guns, were close behind, and that other companies of the 93rd were moving up; so telling Cornwall to set to work to strengthen his post, and to keep a sharp look-out, I wished him good-bye on the night of the 25th, and again resumed my journey.

The total distance from Allahabad to Cawnpore is 118 miles, so I had still forty-six miles to get over before reaching the latter place, and, as I now knew, the enemy were at no great distance to my left. Hope I calculated must be about thirty miles ahead of me, and I had but 100 men to oppose to the mutineers, who were evidently numerous, and who would now probably try to intercept me, the river Jumna at one point being only ten miles from the road along which I had to march. Everybody was, however, most anxious to rescue the ladies and children besieged at Lucknow, and on we went.

We had got about eighteen miles from Futtehpoore, when suddenly a fire of musketry commenced to our left, apparently only a few miles off. The mutineers were evidently on the move, and I came to the conclusion that they must have crossed at Chilla Tara Ghat, and that very possibly some were already on the Trunk road in my front preparing to stop our passage. After a short halt, the rifles being now of course loaded, I moved forward with a few of my Highlanders, the wagons following. It was rather anxious work, my force being so small, and there being no support anywhere at hand; but we pursued our

way quietly, and saw nothing of the enemy, though the firing continued for about three-quarters of an hour. What the mutineers could be doing I could not imagine, as there were no Europeans in the neighbourhood for them to kill, and they could hardly have been celebrating another wedding. It is just possible that they were firing off their muskets preparatory to cleaning them; if not they must have been firing at some imaginary enemy, as I remember the Russians once doing.

After accomplishing a distance of thirty-six miles, thirty of which I had walked on foot, we effected a junction with Hope, whom I found encamped with his three companies at a place called by the natives Maharajpore, not at all sorry to have slipped by the Banda rebels, reported to be 8000 strong, with sixteen guns, more especially as I had charge of a large quantity of spare ammunition.

After my long and exciting march, I gladly laid down and took a short rest, after which I looked about the village, and finding a very large tank, jumped in and took a swim. Hope intended to march on the following morning to Cawnpore, and I quite expected he would send my wagons back, and take my detachment on with his three companies. We had, however, a consultation together, and eventually it was decided that, as my orders were to proceed with all possible speed to Cawnpore, I should continue my journey independently. Accordingly, when my men had sufficiently rested, we again started, late on the evening of the 26th.

CHAPTER IV.

Cawnpore !

It must have been soon after midnight when I found myself evidently approaching Cawnpore. We had left the main road, and seemed to be crossing a large open plain, and it struck me that we might perhaps be going wrong ; I accordingly ordered a halt, and endeavoured, as far as the darkness would permit, to reconnoitre the ground. Presently I heard voices a short distance to my right, speaking in English, and on giving a hail, a soldier ran up, who told me I was not far from the artillery barrack ; he then pointed to two large, ruined buildings immediately to my left, which, he stated, was the place in which General Wheeler had been besieged ; there was light enough for me to notice that close by were a number of large houses arranged in a sort of echelon, built of brick, and in an unfinished state.

I asked him how far it was to the fort, and he said about a mile. Not knowing anything about Cawnpore, I now decided to leave my detachment where it was, and walk on with a guide to the fort, to report my arrival, and ask for instructions. On arriving there the Brigade-Major, Captain McCrea, of the 64th, was called up, and he at once

informed Colonel Wilson, of the 64th, who was at this time in command at the station. They seemed not a little astonished to hear that a company of the 93rd Highlanders had reached Cawnpore, but were evidently much delighted, more especially when I told them that three others would arrive in the forenoon under Hope. I was desired to keep my detachment where it was till daylight, and was told that orders would then be sent to me. Having returned to my wagons, we waited till the Brigade-Major made his appearance, when we were conducted to a large empty barrack, consisting of two long buildings, about a mile and a half from the fort, and not far from the Ganges. I had a long talk with McCrea, who seemed to be a particularly nice fellow. He was, alas! killed only about four weeks afterwards, when the Gwalior mutineers attacked Cawnpore. Adrian Hope marched in on the morning of the 27th, and joined me at the barracks. My gipsy travelling was now at an end, after a journey in carts from Raneegunge of over 500 miles.

On the very day previous to that on which I reached Cawnpore, an event of considerable importance had taken place, namely, the arrival there of a large column from Delhi, under Brigadier-General Hope Grant. It consisted of two troops of Horse Artillery and a field battery, H.M. 9th Lancers, the 1st, 2nd, and 4th Punjaub Cavalry, and Hodson's Irregular Horse; also of H.M. 8th and 75th Regiments, and the 2nd and 4th Punjaub Infantry. There were, perhaps, 600 cavalry altogether, with 16 guns; but the infantry regiments were sadly weak. In the first

instance these troops had been commanded by Colonel Greathed, of the 8th Foot, and he had been attacked when near Agra by the mutineers, over whom he gained a complete victory. Hope Grant afterwards joined the column, and took command.

I was now naturally anxious to make all the inquiries in my power respecting the fate of my poor cousin and namesake, Colonel John Ewart, who had commanded the 1st Bengal Native Infantry. Sending my native servant—or bearer, as I ought rather to call him—off to the city of Cawnpore to question the shopkeepers, I proceeded myself to visit the intrenchment lately occupied by General Wheeler, and which was only about half a mile from the barrack in which we were now quartered.

The garrison of Cawnpore had consisted in the month of May of the 2nd Bengal Cavalry, and of the 1st, 53rd, and 56th Native Infantry, with some artillery; and on the 4th June these regiments all mutinied. After obtaining possession of all the treasure they could lay their hands on, they proceeded to Nawabgunge, and would doubtless have continued their march to Delhi, had they not unfortunately fallen in with the Nana of Bithoor, who persuaded them to return, and placed himself at their head.

Sir Hugh Wheeler had in the meantime ordered the whole of the Europeans to repair to the buildings, known as the Dragoon Hospital, situated in a large open plain south of the canal. He had caused an earthwork to be constructed all round, about four feet high; but there were no other

defences, and one of the buildings was unfortunately only thatched. The selection was not a good one, inasmuch as the hospital was at a considerable distance from the river Ganges, and was also commanded by other buildings; it was, however, near the Trunk Road. Here it was decided to make a stand, the number of men of all ages being between 400 and 500, and of women and children rather more. They had, I believe, ten guns altogether, mostly 9-pounders; but of the men only about 300 were soldiers; this number included the officers of the Sepoy regiments which had mutinied, sixty men of H.M. 84th Regiment, about the same number of European artillerymen, and some invalids belonging to the 32nd Regiment.

On the 6th June the Nana commenced the attack, a few Europeans who had been unable to reach the intrenchment in time, being shot or cut down. For nearly three weeks the unfortunate garrison were exposed to a most fearful artillery and musketry fire, suffering at the same time the greatest privations, but gallantly holding out in hopes of a rescue. After attempting more than one assault, the Nana, finding all his efforts to take the place of no avail, had at last recourse to treachery, and sent in a message to Sir Hugh Wheeler, offering to guarantee to all in the intrenchment a safe passage to Allahabad, provided he would at once surrender. As provisions had begun to fail, and as the sufferings of the ladies and children had been terrible, the General was unfortunately induced to consent to the terms offered; and on the 27th June all who had sur-

vived the miseries of the three weeks' siege, left the intrenchment for the Suttee Chowra Ghát, on the Ganges, where boats were to be in readiness. The rascally Nana had meanwhile stationed troops at various points; and no sooner had the embarkation commenced, than, at a given signal, the native boatmen all leaped out, and fire was at once opened. Only one boat managed to get away, and of all those who were on board it, only four managed to save their lives; their names were Delafosse and Thomson, both officers, and two privates named Murphy and Sullivan, the latter, I think, belonging to the Company's artillery. After a series of most wonderful escapes, they fortunately fell into the hands of a friendly Rajah, and I believe the three former are still living. Of the rest, the men were all killed, but the unfortunate women and children who escaped being shot, were taken by the Nana's orders to a house in Cawnpore, there to be kept for still greater horrors.

On reaching the intrenchment, I found it a complete ruin, and it was pretty evident that Sir Hugh Wheeler had held out almost as long as it was possible. The rooms were full of books, some religious and some which must have belonged to children, and I also found a quantity of music, several ladies' shoes, and numerous locks of hair. A note in pencil on one of the walls, informed me that Captain Halliday, of the 56th Native Infantry, was killed by a round shot on the 9th June; but I could find no letters or papers with the name of Ewart. Whilst continuing my search I came, on entering one of the rooms, upon an officer in a

Light Cavalry uniform, who was gazing sadly upon the desolate scene. We had some conversation together, and he showed me a beautiful lock of hair he had just picked up. Presently he said, "I think you do not know me;" and on my replying that such was the case, he informed me that he was Hope Grant. This was my first introduction to an officer who afterwards so greatly distinguished himself.

My next visit was to the house to which the unfortunate ladies and children had been taken, and where they were all so barbarously murdered. It was at a considerable distance from the intrenchment (in fact about one mile and a half), and on the other side of the canal, and close to the assembly-rooms and theatre. It was not in the actual native town of Cawnpore, but between it and the Ganges. I found it to be an insignificant-looking, low, one-storied building, with twelve small rooms, two of which were, however, larger than the others. Behind was a small courtyard, or compound, in which had been two wells. Here our unfortunate countrywomen, together with a number of children of all ages, were closely confined, until the night of the 15th July, when they were all killed by order of the Nana. There must have been over two hundred altogether, and the massacre was not completed for some hours, five brutal scoundrels, two of whom were butchers by trade, being employed to perpetrate the horrible deed.

The rooms, at the time of my arrival at Cawnpore, in October, were still full of the remains of ladies' dresses, and numbers of shoes were lying

about in all directions, together with locks of hair of various colours. The mats were all stained with blood, and the sides of the rooms also, and the trees in the compound were covered with sabre-cuts. It is known that the villains used swords only for their murderous work; and it seemed to me that many of the unfortunate victims must have been held against the trees, or had tried to hide behind them. On the morning after the massacre, the bodies were thrown into one of the wells, some, I fear, still alive; but I found under some bushes the head of one of our poor countrywomen; it had beautiful teeth, and may have belonged to some fair girl of eighteen. As I looked around, I could almost have cried with rage; and when I left the house where this fearful crime of unsurpassed brutality had been committed, I felt that I had become a changed man. All feeling of mercy or consideration for the mutineers had left me; I was no longer a Christian, and all I wanted was revenge. In the Crimea I had never wished to kill a Russian, or ever tried to, but now my one idea was to kill every rebel I could come across.

When Havelock and Neill reached Cawnpore, on the 17th July, the blood where the massacre had taken place was two inches deep, and several of the prisoners were made to assist in cleaning the floor, after which they were hung on a gibbet, which still remained, close to the house, when I arrived.

On returning to my barrack, distant about two miles, I sent for my native servant, and asked him what he had heard, and whether he had learned

any particulars of the death of my poor cousins. He informed me that he could find out nothing positive about Colonel or Mrs. Ewart, and that the natives in the town seemed afraid to speak about the massacre, he could not even find out which had been their residence. He told me, however, much that I will not here repeat, with reference to the atrocities which had been committed; suffice it to say, that after listening as calmly as I could to all the details he had managed to pick up, I felt, if it was possible, a still stronger desire for revenge.

Long after this I did ascertain the actual fate of my unfortunate namesake and his poor wife. He had been badly wounded in the intrenchment, and was one of the last to leave on the morning of the 27th June, some natives carrying him down on a sort of bed, whilst Mrs. Ewart walked by his side. They had not gone very far, and were some way behind the others, when some Sepoys of his own regiment came up, and killed him with their swords, after which they cut down his wife. Their little girl does not seem to have been with them, and must have died or been killed during the siege. Their bodies were thrown into one of the two wells in the compound of the intrenchment.

We were all now most anxious to proceed on to Lucknow, where numbers of other ladies and children were closely besieged by thousands of rebels. They had taken refuge in the Residency, which was defended in the first instance by H.M. 32nd Regiment, and a few faithful Sepoys belonging to the regiments which had

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mutinied; Sir Hugh Wheeler having also, I think, sent on some of H.M. 84th Regiment. Outram and Havelock, after desperate fighting, at last managed to reach the Residency, on the 25th September, with the 78th Highlanders, some of the 5th Fusiliers and 90th Light Infantry, and a portion of the Madras Fusiliers; but they were unfortunately not able to rescue the garrison or ladies, in consequence of the severe losses they experienced; in fact they soon found themselves besieged also.

At the end of October it became known that the Gwalior Contingent, who had mutinied, were on the move, and they were reported to be marching on Cawnpore with thirty guns. The question now arose whether to advance and attack this force, wait for them at Cawnpore, or go on to rescue our countrywomen at Lucknow? It was a difficult point to decide, as if the enemy arrived in our absence, they might get possession of the bridge of boats, and so prevent us from recrossing the Ganges. The thought, however, of the Cawnpore massacre, and the knowledge, through spies, that provisions were running short at the Residency, settled the matter, and Sir Colin Campbell decided upon an immediate advance towards Lucknow.

The Banda and Dinapore mutineers still threatened to cut our communications, and on the very day after Hope Grant left Cawnpore they crossed the Jumna. Fortunately for Captain Cornwall, who still continued at Futtehpoore, Captain Peel, R.N., had reached that place with some sailors and guns. Lieut.-Colonel Powell had also arrived

with some of the 53rd; and two more companies of the 93rd, under Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel Gordon, marched in, together with a company of Sappers. It was decided at once to advance and attack the enemy, so leaving two companies of the 93rd under Gordon to defend the fort, the remainder under the command of Powell, marched towards the Jumna. They found the mutineers at a place called Kudjwa, about twenty miles to the left of the main road, and a severe engagement then took place, Lieut.-Colonel Powell being unfortunately killed. The company of the 93rd, under Captain Cornwall, had one officer (Lieutenant Cunyngham) shot through the leg, and sixteen men killed or wounded. On the death of Lieut.-Colonel Powell Captain Peel, R.N., assumed command, and completely defeated the enemy, capturing their guns.

Another company of the 93rd (Captain Clarke's) nearly came in for a fight when moving up from Chinsura, as on the 6th October, when at Sherghotty, it was ordered to march to the assistance of a wing of the 53rd Regiment, under Lieut.-Colonel English, engaged with the Ramghur mutineers. After marching a long distance it was met by a messenger conveying the intelligence that English (who had served with me in the 35th) had beaten the enemy and taken their guns, and that the Highlanders would not be required.

CHAPTER V.

**An Oudh stronghold—Capture of a gun—The Alumbagh—
Arrival of Sir Colin Campbell—Henry Kavanagh.**

ON the morning of the 30th October the force under the command of Hope Grant crossed the Ganges, and encamped about three miles from Cawnpore, on the road to Lucknow. It consisted of the 9th Lancers, some Sikh cavalry, and 20 guns, H.M. 8th and 75th Regiments, each about 300 strong, 380 of the 93rd Highlanders, 150 of H.M. 53rd Regiment, 70 of the 5th Fusiliers, and two battalions of Punjaub infantry, each about 400, making a total strength of about 3000 men of all arms. The cavalry was commanded by Colonel Little, of the 9th Lancers, and the infantry by Colonel Guy, of the 5th Fusiliers, the latter being divided into two brigades, under Adrian Hope and Greathed. Numbers of elephants and camels accompanied the troops, and I was allowed the use of two of the latter, one for my tent, and the other for my baggage. The tents in India are quite different to those we had in the Crimea, being very large and square instead of round. Up to the present time I had been unable to procure a charger, but I had the good fortune now to fall in with an old

friend, Captain J. M. Bannatyne, of the 8th, who had previously served in the 93rd. He most kindly lent me an excellent horse, and also provided me with a good native groom or syce. I was now, therefore, once more a mounted officer, and ready for any work which might be required. Three officers of the 78th Highlanders, Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel Henry Hamilton, Captain A. Mackenzie, and Lieutenant F. H. Walsh, marched with us, *en route* to join their regiment at Lucknow.

Between Cawnpore and Bunnee we had to cross a river, the bridge over which had been blown up by the enemy. It luckily did not much matter, as we managed to get over, guns and all, at a ford.

On the 2nd November we had our first fight. The rebels were in possession of a village a short distance to the right of the main road, and I was ordered to attack it with two companies of the 93rd on one side, whilst Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton, of the 78th, attacked it on another with some of the 5th and 53rd. I advanced with No. 1 company (Captain Clarke's) skirmishing, the grenadiers, under Captain Middleton, being in support. The enemy opened fire with their matchlocks and muskets, but did little damage. Unfortunately we found, on getting close, that the village was surrounded by a high wall, and that it was, in fact, regularly fortified. We had no ladders, so were in a complete fix. As, however, my orders were to storm it, I rode right up to the wall; the rebels, who must have been shocking bad shots, hitting neither myself nor my horse. I now made

my men get what cover they could, desiring them to fire at every turban that showed itself. We could see the drawn swords, or tulwabs as they are called, and the muzzles of the firelocks, but the rebels kept their persons well concealed. After a little time I discovered a door; so dismounting, and calling to some of my Highlanders to follow me, drew my sword, and entered. Our disgust may be imagined, upon getting into a room, to find further progress stopped by a second door, strongly barred on the inside. If an iron bar or hammer had been at hand, we might perhaps have forced it, or broken it in; but unluckily we had neither. The Sepoys in the meantime, hearing us below, made a hole through the roof of the room into which we had penetrated, and commenced firing down upon my party, shooting one man in the groin, and also wounding a second. They contrived too to kill one of the grenadiers, and to put a ball through the nose of another.

It was of no use stopping in this room, and I decided to make one more effort to climb the high wall. Some of the Punjaub infantry had come to our assistance, and they, too, were trying hard to get in. The officers were English, and very gallant fellows, too. One of the rebels tried to cover me more than once with his musket. He would probably have finished me off, as we were only two or three yards apart, had not some of my Highlanders had their eyes upon him. Just as I was thinking how we could possibly get at the rascals inside this stronghold, a message arrived from Hope Grant, desiring me to come on


immediately to the front, as the enemy were in force. He had himself pushed on some time before with the cavalry and guns, the 8th, 75th, and the other two companies of the 93rd. I accordingly left 150 of the Punjaubees, with instructions to watch the village, Hamilton, on the other side, still trying to get in. In this he succeeded after a time, as one or two guns, which were with the rear-guard, came up, and an entrance was then effected, the rebels inside being speedily killed. They proved to be mostly Sepoys of various regiments which had mutinied. In the assault upon this village Captain Mackenzie, of the 78th Highlanders, was shot through the leg, and about seventeen men of various corps were killed or wounded.

In accordance with my orders I marched as quickly as possible to the front, and caught up Hope Grant. The enemy, however, went off as soon as one or two rounds from our guns had been fired, leaving one of their own guns in our possession. We then fell back, and took up a position a short distance in front of the captured village, where we encamped, an order having arrived from Sir Colin Campbell directing Grant to wait for him.

We were now only ten miles from Lucknow and eight from the Alumbagh—a large building in which Outram and Havelock had left their sick and wounded and baggage animals, when they advanced to the relief of the Residency—about 400 men having also been left as a guard, under the command of Major McIntyre, of the 78th Highlanders. A fortnight afterwards Major Barn-

ston, of the 90th, with 600 men and four guns, succeeded in reaching the Alumbagh, from Cawnpore, but all communication with the Residency had been cut off by the rebels.

Instructions were now received from Sir Colin Campbell, desiring that all the provisions we could spare should be sent to the defenders of the Alumbagh, together with a supply of ammunition. A force was accordingly detailed by Hope Grant to act as a convoy. It consisted of the four companies of the 93rd Highlanders, 200 of the 5th and 53rd, a squadron of the 9th Lancers, some Sikh cavalry and infantry, and six guns, under the command of Brigadier the Hon. Adrian Hope. I was second in command, and we started before daylight on the 5th November. It was the anniversary of Inkerman, but I was the only individual with Hope Grant's column who had been present at that battle. We succeeded in reaching our destination without the slightest annoyance from the enemy, Hope taking up a position outside the building, whilst the camels and carts, or hackeries, as they are called in India, were sent on to unload inside the large walled enclosure. The rebels seemed then at last to wake up, and sent a body of cavalry and some matchlock-men to see what we were about. The grenadiers of the 93rd at once went forward to skirmish; and a few rounds having been also fired from our guns, the enemy soon retired. They had brought a gun with them, which they fired twice, doing no mischief; and as for their infantry, they kept at such a respectful distance, that their fire was simply laughable. The 9th Lancers were, how-



ever, for the first and only time since the formation of the regiment, obliged to beat a retreat. They had been posted in rear of a wood, ready to dash out if an opportunity offered, when suddenly, to my great astonishment, I saw several of them gallop to the rear, the others being also in commotion. The enemy I concluded must be coming on in great force; and yet I felt sure that the 9th would fight a body even ten times their number; in fact, I was sorely puzzled. A few moments later and the mystery was explained, as I found that the gallant Lancers had been routed by a nest of bees or hornets, some of which must have stung the horses beyond all endurance. A hearty laugh followed on the part of everybody. Whilst the skirmish was going on I saw an officer in the uniform of the 78th Highlanders riding towards me. On his coming up he asked if I was in command of the troops, stating that he was Major McIntyre, and that he was most anxious to obtain assistance to capture some guns, which for some time past had caused him much annoyance in the Alumbagh. All I could do was to refer him to Adrian Hope, who stated that he was sorry he could not help him, as he had received orders not to undertake any offensive movement.

Shortly afterwards I rode forward to the Alumbagh, and found it to be the Queen of Oudh's summer palace, standing in a large square, which had once been a beautiful garden, with a high wall all round, about 450 yards each way. This wall had been loopholed, and the enemy had never once dared to storm the place. The

garrison seemed to consist principally of men belonging to the 78th and 90th Regiments, and Barnston, of the latter, told me that they were usually favoured by the rebels with about five round shot a day. Besides the soldiers, there must have been 3000 camp-followers at this time in the Alumbagh. Lieut.-Colonel Henry Hamilton, of the 78th, who had accompanied us, now joined his regiment.

As soon as all the carts and camels had been unladen, we prepared to return, Hope desiring me to take command of the rear guard, consisting of a troop of the 9th Lancers, some Sikh cavalry and infantry, two guns, and two companies of the 93rd. Besides our own camels and hackeries we had now many others which had been for some time at the Alumbagh. In fact altogether we brought back 2200 camels, 28 elephants, and between 500 and 600 wagons and carts drawn by bullocks. The enemy had not the pluck to follow us, and we did not lose a single animal, getting back to our encampment near Bunnee about ten p.m., all rather tired and hungry. About seventy sick and wounded were sent with us from the Alumbagh, and on the morning of the 6th these were forwarded on to Cawnpore, together with the camels, elephants, and carts, which were urgently required to bring on further reinforcements and more provisions. A Sikh escort accompanied them, and had a narrow escape of being fired at as rebels by a detachment marching up to join Hope Grant.

When at the Alumbagh I could see distinctly the minarets of the mosques at Lucknow. Heavy

firing was going on between the defenders of the Residency and the mutineers. Indeed as our encampment was only ten miles distant we could now hear the guns daily. The Nana was reported to be some distance off on our left; but nothing positive could be ascertained with reference to his movements, one rumour placing him at Lucknow. We still hoped to catch the scoundrel.

Sir Colin Campbell had left Calcutta on the 27th October, travelling up the great trunk road by horse dāk. When not far from Benares he had a narrow escape of being captured by a body of mutineers belonging to the 32nd Native Infantry. On the 1st November he reached Allahabad, arriving at Futtehpoore on the 2nd, when he heard of Peel's victory at Kudjwa—the old General getting very angry on learning that the Sappers had been taken out from the fort to fight, as he considered them to be too valuable to be exposed unnecessarily. Some too had, I think, been knocked over. He arrived at Cawnpore on the 3rd November, when hearing by means of a spy, or cossid, that the provisions in the Residency at Lucknow would last for another fortnight, he decided to wait for further reinforcements.

Hope Grant, a very go-ahead and gallant officer, now sent back to Sir Colin, asking permission to attack the large fort of Julalabad, distant three or four miles from Lucknow; he was told, however, to remain quiet for the present; and on the afternoon of the 7th his force was augmented by the arrival of 250 more of the 93rd Highlanders, two more companies of the 53rd, about 100

sailors, and four guns, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Leith-Hay, of the 93rd.

On the evening of the 9th November we were all delighted to hear that Sir Colin Campbell, had just arrived. He came from Cawnpore escorted by a party of Lancers, having accomplished the forty miles in one day. I had some conversation with him on the following morning, and he told me he was quite well. He looked, however, worn and anxious, and it was not to be wondered at; for the Nana was stated to be only waiting for an opportunity to attack us, with 10,000 men and sixteen guns, whilst the Gwalior mutineers and others were threatening Cawnpore. Colonel Berkeley, of the 32nd accompanied Sir Colin, in addition to the members of his Staff.

On the morning of the 10th another reinforcement joined us, consisting of 100 sailors, with four guns, under Captain Peel, R.N., two more companies of the 93rd, under Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel Gordon, two more companies of the 53rd, and a company of the 5th Fusiliers. Colonel Russell, of the 84th, who had also arrived, was sent on the 10th to the Alumbagh, some guns and Lancers going to see him safely in.

On this day the camp was astonished by the arrival very early in the morning of a civilian, named Kavanagh, who had made his escape from the Residency disguised as a native, accompanied by one of our spies. He had most gallantly volunteered to come out for the purpose of acting as guide to Sir Colin Campbell, and after running the most fearful risks, and having several hair-breadth escapes, contrived to reach our encamp-

ment. For this noble and daring deed the Victoria Cross was afterwards conferred upon him, an honour he well deserved for many acts of most distinguished bravery. He remained with Sir Colin most of the day, and must have given him much valuable information.

CHAPTER VI.

Relief of Lucknow.


ON the afternoon of the 11th November, Sir Colin Campbell reviewed the whole of the troops now encamped near Bunnee. There were not many of them, perhaps about 4000 of all arms, but these were all good, and every man was actuated by the same feeling, namely, a determination to revenge Cawnpore, and to rescue the ladies and children at Lucknow. The 9th Lancers, though much reduced in numbers by previous hard fighting, looked superb, and the Sikh cavalry were magnificent, some wearing blue turbans and others red, wild-looking fellows with piercing black eyes. The Punjaub infantry too were admirable, and I no longer was surprised at the difficulty Lord Gough had experienced in winning some of the battles he fought against the Sikhs; in fact had they been then commanded by the British officers now at their head, I doubt if we should have conquered their country. Probyn, who led one of the bodies of Sikh horse, was one of the finest soldiers I ever came across; Green, who I think commanded the 2nd Punjaub Infantry, was also a first-rate officer; but all were good.

Of the British infantry, the 93rd was the only

really strong battalion, the 8th and 75th having been sadly reduced by the losses they had experienced at the siege of Delhi. The 53rd seemed a fine regiment, but they had not all come up. Fortunately we had, as in the Crimea, a Naval Brigade, small in numbers, but commanded by Captain Peel, R.N., who was a host in himself.


The sailors brought with them eight heavy guns; and besides a heavy field battery of the Royal Artillery, we had two troops of the Bengal Horse Artillery, and a Bengal field battery.

Sir Colin had a capital Staff, Major-General Mansfield being Chief of it. His Military Secretary was the eldest of the two Alisons, an excellent officer, and his Aides-de-Camp were Sir David Baird, the younger Alison, and Forster. The Adjutant-General of the force was Captain Norman, a very able man. I cannot at this distance of time remember the names of all the officers in the departments of the Adjutant-General and Quarter-master-General, but a very fine fellow named Hope Johnstone belonged to the former, and an admirable officer named Roberts to the latter. A particularly gallant and good officer was Aide-de-Camp to Hope Grant, the Hon. A. H. Anson, brother to the present Earl of Lichfield. Sir Colin Campbell made a careful inspection, and afterwards addressed a few words to each regiment. He had always been very popular in the 93rd, as he had been closely associated with them in Turkey and the Crimea, more especially at Balaklava; and after listening attentively to the few stirring words he addressed to them, the Highlanders cheered him tremendously.



On the morning of the 12th we commenced our march, the enemy coming out to attack as we approached Lucknow. Some of the Sikh cavalry were in front, and made a brilliant charge under that splendid soldier, Gough, capturing two guns. One or two of the 93rd were wounded, but the action was soon over, and we reached the Alumbagh without further molestation, when the force encamped for the night.

On the 13th Sir Colin decided before advancing farther, to attack the Fort of Julalabad, which lay to our right, and from which the rebels could detach a strong force to harass our rear or capture our baggage. To effect this he detailed a strong force under Brigadier the Hon. Adrian Hope, and I found myself in command of a brigade of infantry. The distance from the Alumbagh seemed to be about four miles, the road passing through a wood, and afterwards winding along the side of a large jheel or lake. At one point the enemy had erected an earthwork battery, and had it been armed and defended, we should have experienced a heavy loss, as it was difficult to turn. Fortunately the rebels had not the pluck to make a stand, and we moved on towards the fort, coming first of all to a large village, from which the inhabitants had fled, with the exception of one or two who were too infirm to do so. There was not much left in any of the houses, but I have still a picture which was taken out of one of them. On reaching the fort we found it empty, the enemy having evacuated it on the previous night. It was a large and strong place, capable of containing a great many men, and Hope



caused one or two breaches to be made in the walls, so that no use could be made of it for the present. We then all marched back.


On this day the remaining company of the 93rd, under Captain Cornwall, arrived from Futtehpore, so the regiment was once more complete. Some changes were now made in the Alumbagh garrison, the 75th Regiment being sent to relieve the detachments of the 5th Fusiliers, 78th Highlanders, 90th Light Infantry, and Madras Fusiliers, which had been so long shut up there. Colonel Russell, of the 84th, rejoined the force outside as a brigadier, and Brevet-Lieut.-Colonels Hamilton and McIntyre, of the 78th, and Major Barnston, of the 90th, were appointed to command battalions formed of the detachments. The 53rd Regiment had lost Lieut.-Colonel Powell, at the action near Kudjwa; and as the headquarters under Lieut.-Colonel English had not joined, and both majors were absent, the wing now with Sir Colin was without a field-officer; under these circumstances Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel Gordon, of the 93rd, was appointed to command it.

It was late on the evening of the 13th when Adrian Hope's force got back from Julalabad, and I then learnt that I had been specially selected by Sir Colin to command the rear guard on the following day, when a forward movement was to take place. It was, I remember, rather a cold night, and for the first time since landing in India I felt exceedingly unwell; I half feared that an attack of cholera might be coming on, but I was determined not to give in, and was ready for my work in the morning.

All the tents had been sent into the Alumbagh, but Sir Colin decided to take with him the whole of the baggage, and also provisions for fourteen days, for his own force and for those shut up in the Residency. Carts were also wanted to convey the women, and children, and wounded, in the event of our being able to relieve the Residency. It was to protect this long train that my rear guard had been detailed, and I was given three squadrons of cavalry, Captain Octavius Anson, of the 9th Lancers being the senior officer; Blunt's troop of Horse Artillery, and about 500 infantry, some of which belonged to the 84th, some to the 90th, some to my own regiment, and, I think, some to the Madras Fusiliers.

About eight or nine o'clock on the morning of the 14th November, our little army commenced its flank march, Sir Colin having decided to proceed by the Dilkúsha and Martinière. I saw the troops gradually file away to the right, and I was left to make the best arrangement I could with the baggage. It was not altogether a pleasant position, for there were thousands of camp-followers, and not being acquainted with Hindostanee, I could not speak a word to the native drivers; the enemy too, I felt sure, would come out of Lucknow and endeavour to cut off some of the carts. However, at last a start was made, and the unwieldy procession began to wind its slow length along.

Several roads led from the left of the route we had to follow, into the city of Lucknow, and I had now to do the best I could to guard the long train committed to my charge. Extending my



infantry in skirmishing order along the exposed side of the baggage, I gave them orders to keep a sharp look-out, and to fire at any rebels who might show themselves. I then remained with my guns and cavalry till the last hackery had left the ground. It was some time before all had got away; indeed, I imagine the first cart must have nearly, if not quite, reached the Dilkúsha before the last one started. Truly, indeed, did I now realize the full meaning of the Latin word *impedimenta*, and most heartily did I wish that Sir Charles Napier's plan of only carrying a towel and a piece of soap had been adopted by the officers.

The distance from the Alumbagh to the Dilkúsha was about three miles, and I had not gone much more than half a mile when we crossed the road out of Lucknow, which leads from the Char Bagh bridge to the fort of Julalabad. The enemy had of course been watching my proceedings, and now out they came, down this road, thinking no doubt that they would be able to get easy possession of some of the rear carts. I remained on the road for some little time, but though the rebels shouted and made a great noise, they had not the pluck to attack. Leaving some cavalry at this point, I then rode forward to look to my baggage, but as the enemy once more showed signs of coming on in force, I returned with my guns and gave them a few rounds. This fairly sickened them; and just at this moment, not a little to my astonishment, some British troops appeared in sight, following in my track. They turned out to be a strong reinforce-

ment under Colonel Crawford, R.A., just arrived from Cawnpore, consisting of the headquarters of the 23rd Welsh Fusiliers, a detachment of the 82nd Regiment, some of the Royal Engineers and Military Train, two guns belonging to the Madras Horse Artillery, and a portion of the Royal Artillery—perhaps about 700 men in all. Begging them to watch this road, down which their guns at once opened fire, I galloped on to look after my baggage, and guard the other cross roads, of which there were, I think, four. My infantry in the meantime had been doing their work well, firing as I had ordered at every rebel who showed his nose, but not unnecessarily wasting their ammunition. The 93rd men I had with me were under Middleton; the 84th under Lightfoot; and the 90th under Guise; at least, I think so, though I am only trusting to memory after a lapse of eighteen years.

The enemy finding us not to be caught napping, at last retired, and we pursued our way without further annoyance from them, coming, I remember, upon one house full of powder, where I fancy they had been engaged in the manufacture of it. We took a few prisoners, but our soldiers had at this time no desire to give quarter; we had, moreover, quite enough to do without guarding others. Sometimes a cart would come to smash, which was a great worry. Nothing like all the baggage reached the Dilkúsha before dark, so I had to bivouac for the night, and post guards and pickets.

Sir Colin in the meantime had been fighting his way, and had gained possession of both the

Dilkúsha and Martinière, halting for the night at the latter place. Lieutenant Mayne, of the Bengal Horse Artillery, and Captain Wheatcroft, of the 6th Carabineers, who was attached to the 9th Lancers, were both killed on this day.

By the afternoon of the 15th the whole of the baggage had reached the Dilkúsha, to which place I had been ordered to escort it, and where it was to remain—in a large enclosed garden, protected by the 8th Regiment, some guns, and cavalry—until the relief of the Residency had been effected. Having completed the duty for which the rear guard had been detailed, I proceeded to the Martinière to make my report, and received orders to rejoin the 93rd.

The Martinière was a very large and handsome building, standing in a small park full of trees, which was about 800 yards long by 500 wide; it had been used as a college, and was founded by Claude Martin, after whom it was named. I found my regiment at the far end of the park, where they were exchanging shots with the enemy, who occupied some buildings at no great distance. There was a bridge over the canal only 300 yards off, and this they were evidently determined to defend, as they no doubt made certain we should advance that way to the Residency. Sir Colin, to keep up this delusion, ordered some guns on the left of the 93rd to open fire, and a heavy cannonade was maintained for some time on both sides. We had all brought some provisions in our haversacks, and I took my dinner, or I should rather call it tea, seated on the ground with my back against

a tree, the shots from the muskets of the enemy whistling past my ears.

Some time during the night the 93rd were quietly withdrawn from their advanced position, and the force was soon silently drawn up ready to move in quite a different direction. Sir Colin had kept his own counsel well, and had deceived not only the enemy, but his own troops also. It now became evident that he intended to steal a march on our opponents, and just at daylight we moved quietly off to the right. Some cavalry and Horse Artillery led the way, the brigade to which I belonged, under Adrian Hope, following. After leaving the Martinière park we soon came to the canal; this I had imagined would delay us not a little, but to my surprise the bed was perfectly dry. We then passed a small village, and I saw that we were close to the Goomtee. Some rebel cavalry on the opposite side of the river appeared to be watching us, but not a shot was fired. Our route now lay between the Goomtee and a second village, from which I quite expected the enemy would open fire; still, however, the most perfect silence reigned, and it became clear that we had not been expected this way at all events. After a while we entered a narrow lane, and if the rebels had been wide awake they would now have been able to inflict upon us heavy loss. Presently there came a sharp turn to the left, and then the stillness of our march was broken by heavy firing. Our advance guard had come upon the enemy, and the fighting was about to commence.

Some of the 53rd were at once thrown out as



skirmishers, and word was passed for the right wing of the 93rd to move to the front as quickly as possible. The five companies composing it went forward directly under Lieut.-Colonel Leith-Hay, and I was left in command of the other five, Lieut.-Colonel Gordon being with the 53rd. A few minutes more and I was ordered to advance, and soon found myself opposite a very large building called the Secunder-Bagh, about 150 yards square, with towers at each angle; it was built of stone, and was evidently a strong place. The left wing of the 93rd, of which I now had command, was then ordered to occupy a small grove of trees and line a bank about 100 or 150 yards from the Secunder-Bagh, and exactly opposite to one of its sides, the 53rd being to our right. The building was full of loopholes, from which, as well as from the wall, a heavy fire was opened on my men, the Highlanders of course replying. Here we remained for some time firing away at each other. My native groom had accompanied us, and I now dismounted and gave him charge of my horse, quite determined to do my best to rescue our poor countrywomen so long besieged in the Residency. As there were no ladders the question now arose, how should we get into the Secunder-Bagh? This was a matter for Sir Colin to decide, and in the meantime I took a rifle from one of my men, and fired a number of shots at the defenders of the building, many of whom could be seen upon the walls.

The right wing of the 93rd had in the meanwhile been doing wonders. First of all it drove the enemy out of a large serai, which lay to the

left of the Secunder-Bagh, and cleared a number of houses. Two companies (Captain Cornwall's and Captain Stewart's) then pushed on in advance, and got possession of a large building built in the shape of a cross, and called the barracks, though originally, I believe, used as the king of Oudh's stables. The enemy were so frightened at the sight of the Highlanders that they fled precipitately, leaving their guns in the hands of the 93rd. Of the other three companies which composed the right wing, two (the grenadiers and No. 1) now joined the left wing, the third remaining, I believe, with Lieut.-Colonel Leith-Hay.

I had therefore at this time seven companies of the 93rd, and some of our heavy guns having been brought up, a breach was at last made near one of the angles of the Secunder-Bagh. Sir Colin at once ordered a bugler to sound the advance, and out from behind the bank dashed the Highlanders, the 4th Punjaub Rifles joining in the assault. It was an exciting moment, and I would have given a great deal to have been like the other officers and men in my regiment, in a kilt, instead of wearing a tightly strapped-down pair of trousers, and spurs. Who reached the breach first I cannot say, but it was not I. Captain Burroughs, of the 93rd, afterwards claimed to be the first in, but I have heard others state that it was Sergeant-Major Murray, of the 93rd, or a Sikh named Subadar Gokul Sing. The 93rd, though in their kilts and large bonnets, were dressed at this time in light brown holland coats with scarlet facings, instead of their red tunics; the Punjaub

infantry also wore a sort of brown dress, so the distinction of colour was not so great as it otherwise would have been. At such a time too it was difficult to notice anything.

On reaching the breach I found it to be only a small hole, about a yard square and about the same distance from the ground. I was soon in; and as I jumped down, a man of the 93rd was killed close to my side. I also noticed Captain Burroughs bleeding from a bad sabre cut over his head. The interior of the building was full of very tall grass, a path running to the left and another to the right. I chose the latter, and on we ran, Cooper, of the 93rd—who had got through the hole just before me—displaying great gallantry. Captain Lumsden, who had been attached to my regiment as interpreter, was also with me. He was a fine fellow—an Aberdeenshire man; and as he dashed forward, he waved his sword high over his head, cheering on the Highlanders, and calling out to them to fight for the honour of Scotland. As we turned the corner, a large body of the enemy appeared in sight. They did not apparently like the look of us, for they instantly bolted through a passage to our right, which led into a sort of inner court. In a moment we were at them; but poor Lumsden was killed, and Cooper got a cut across the head. I dashed with my men into the court, and found myself face to face with the rebels, some armed with guns, but most of them with shields and swords, or tulwahs, as they are called in India. They fired a volley directly, at a distance of only ten yards, and knocked my Highland bonnet right off my head,

fortunately aiming a few inches too high. As I was in front I could not see how many of my men fell, but at once attacked with my sword the native who appeared to be the leader. We fought for some little time, but he had a shield which gave him an advantage. He was a tall fellow, with very black eyes, and looked like a Sikh; his sword was slightly curved, and he was completely in white, with a turban. Presently a very fierce-looking gentleman, also armed with sword and shield, came to his assistance, and others were close by. This I thought was rather too much of a good thing, as but few of my men were with me; so pulling out my Colt's revolver, I shot the two individuals I have named, and also four others. They were only about a yard off, and as I aimed at the breast, each fell dead immediately. I then called to my Highlanders to go in with the bayonet, and not to waste their fire, for they had been busy with their rifles. In a short time the court was full of dead bodies.

Whilst this had been going on a number of the 93rd, tired of waiting to get in one at a time through a small hole, had gone round to the main entrance, where they contrived, after a while, to force the large gate, which had been protected by a sort of curved traverse. The 53rd, too, under Gordon, had succeeded in breaking down the bars of a large window, through which they soon entered. A general slaughter of the rebels therefore now took place, fighting going on all over the building.

It was not long after this that I caught sight, in one of the rooms in the Secunder-Bagh, of a

large Colour. The room was rather dark, but I could see it quite plain, leaning against the wall. Being determined to capture it, I made for the door, which was open; but no sooner did I try to enter, than two rebels cut at me. They were standing just inside, one on each side of the door. I fought with them for some little time, receiving two wounds, one on the right arm and the other on the right hand. They kept carefully out of sight unless I tried to enter; and for all I knew there might be others behind them.

A namesake of my own had captured a Colour at the battle of Waterloo. He was a sergeant in the Scots Greys, and was given a commission. Having made up my mind to get this one, I now prepared for a final effort; so going back a few yards, I took a short run; and guarding my head as best I could with my sword, dashed through the doorway. They luckily missed me with their tulwaks; and after killing them both, I seized the Colour, which was heavy, and had a crimson case; having time to observe that my two antagonists were apparently native officers of some sort, being dressed, as far as I could make out, in blue, with gold sword-belts.

Although at the time savage and relentless, in consequence of the murder of my poor cousins, and the frightful barbarities perpetrated at Cawnpore and elsewhere, I now often regret that it was by my hand that eight of the defenders of the Secunder-Bagh lost their lives; and I earnestly pray that it may never again fall to my lot to take away the life of a human being.

On emerging from the room, I considered what

would be the best thing to do with the Colour; and the thought suddenly occurred to me, that if I could take it to Sir Colin Campbell I should get the Victoria Cross. The defenders of the building seemed to be all killed, and my arm and hand were both bleeding. I was apparently the senior officer inside the Secunder-Bagh; and it struck me that Sir Colin might like to know it was in our possession. I accordingly now went back to the hole through which I had entered, and looked out. There sat the old General on his horse, surrounded by his Staff; and I jumped out, and ran towards him. He had a wonderful eye, and saw me directly; and before I could speak, called out, "Go back to your regiment, sir!" It was in vain I tried to explain; and I saw that something had gone wrong, and that he was in an irritable mood. At last I called out angrily, "I have just killed the last two of the enemy with my own hands; and here, sir, is one of their Colours!" Several of the Staff then gave me a cheer, but I almost think Sir Colin damned the Colours. However, he at last had the civility to thank me; and after handing the captured standard to a private of the 93rd who was close by, with instructions to remember from whom he had received it, I immediately returned to the Secunder-Bagh; some one—I think it was Kavanagh, who had so gallantly come out of the Residency in disguise—handing me a cap to replace the bonnet which had been shot off my head, and which I never recovered.

At the moment I was very irate with Sir Colin, but I had seen something of his temper in the

Crimea, and knew what he was. I was aware, too, that he had a wonderful memory; and the thought flashed across me, that he had perhaps not yet forgotten the unfortunate message entrusted to me by Sir Richard Airey.

On re-entering the Secunder-Bagh, I found that Adrian Hope had just come in, and a report was being made to him that a few of the mutineers still remained in one of the towers. I at once offered to attack them if he would give me some men; but on seeing that I was wounded, he said, "No, Ewart, you have done quite enough for one day." Just at this moment a message arrived from Sir Colin, to the effect that the 93rd were wanted immediately, and that they were all to come out of the Secunder-Bagh. This time I quitted it by the great gate, near which heaps of dead bodies were lying. As soon as we appeared the enemy fired several shots, and a cannon-ball knocked over two artillerymen close to me.

The regiment was soon formed up, and we moved on. I heard afterwards that the Punjaub infantry, who remained inside, induced the few rebels in the tower to surrender, and that they then killed them all, calling out "Cawnpore! Cawnpore!" as they did so. Many of the 93rd had fallen, but I could not learn their names; it was, however, known that besides poor Lumsden, Captain Dalzell, who commanded the light company, had been killed, and Sergeant-major Murray also. The bodies of 2000 dead natives were afterwards taken out of the Secunder-Bagh, no quarter having been given.

My groom, who had remained where I left him,


now brought me my charger, which I was glad to find all right, and the 93rd moved forward. As we did so Sir Colin rode up, and asked me if I knew where the company was he had sent out to skirmish. He meant, I concluded, the company of the right wing (No. 4), and I offered to go and look for it; however, he said, "No," and I saw that he was anxious and worried. Presently we halted near some houses, and Adrian Hope came up to me, and stated that he had just been desired by Sir Colin to select a field-officer to take command at the barracks captured by Nos. 2 and 3 companies of the 93rd, and which had remained there to hold it. He said he should like me to go, as Sir Colin considered it a post of the greatest importance; but that as I had received two wounds I could go to the rear, if I preferred it. I replied that my sabre-cuts were of no consequence, and that I would go at once and take command. Hope then desired the adjutant (McBean), who had already been to the barracks, to show me the way, and off we rode.

The enemy at this time were keeping up a heavy artillery fire, their guns being for the most part placed on an elevated mound, where there was a building which looked like an observatory, though I was afterwards told it was the mess-house. Our own artillery replied with vigour, but had to keep on the move, the aim of the mutineers being good. Major Barnston, of the 90th, with his mixed battalion had made an unsuccessful attack upon the rebels posted in and near the Shah Nujjeef, and I saw the poor fellow lying on the ground, with a desperate wound in

the hip from a shell. He died shortly afterwards, at Cawnpore.

In riding to the barracks, situated about 1000 yards to the left of the Secunder-Bagh, we had to run the gauntlet of the enemy's guns; but I was too much interested in watching the artillery duel going on, to think about the round shot, to which I had become pretty well used in the Crimea. After going some distance down a road, McBean said, "Now, Colonel, we must look out;" and I found that the enemy were firing away as hard as they could at the barracks, from buildings which were on two sides of it. To get in we had to cross an open space, and the rebels tried hard to hit us, fortunately not succeeding in doing so. McBean then returned to the 93rd, and I proceeded to make an inspection of my new command. It was, I found, an immense building, built exactly in the shape of a cross, with a tower in the centre; it stood in a sort of large square, with outhouses running round a great part. The enemy seemed to be in great force close by. There were no rooms, and the floor was not boarded; in fact, it must have been, I should say, at one time a gigantic stable, perhaps for elephants; it was lofty, and there were a number of windows. We replied, of course, to the fire of the rebels, and so the day went on.

Sir Colin had meanwhile attacked the Shah Nujjeef with the other eight companies of the 93rd, Peel supporting them with his guns. The rebels fought well, and Middleton's battery had also to be brought up. Even then, success seemed doubtful, as there were no ladders, and from the




strength of the masonry a breach could not be effected. The wall was a great height, and I believe even Sir Colin almost despaired of taking the building; when, just as evening was approaching, Adrian Hope (whose horse had been killed) discovered a place where he thought he could get in; so, taking a number of the 93rd, he made an attempt, and fortunately succeeded, the enemy at once bolting.

No more could be done on this day, and fresh supplies of ammunition had to be brought up. In the attack on the Shah Nujjeef, Lieut.-Colonel Leith-Hay, who commanded the 93rd, had his horse shot; as had also Hope's Brigade-Major, and Aide-de-Camp (Captain Cox, of the 75th, and Lieutenant Butter, of the 93rd). Lord Seymour, eldest son of the Duke of Somerset, who was present with the force as a volunteer, behaved with the greatest gallantry throughout the day.

There was no rest for me on the night of the 16th, for the enemy kept up an incessant musketry fire on my barrack, from which they were distant at one point only seventy yards. The wall of the enclosure had several loopholes, and through these they kept firing; others fired over the wall, and some from houses. There was a large gate, and behind this they seemed to have mustered in great force, calling out during the night "Halt!" "Limber up!" and other English words of command. Whether they had brought cannon or not, I cannot say, as we could not see the rascals; but my idea at the time was that they merely wanted to frighten us.

I soon received a visit from Sir Colin, who told me that I was to hold the post as long as I had a man left alive, saying it was of the greatest importance, but adding, that I was on no account to attempt any aggressive movement, and simply to act on the defensive. I asked him if he would let me have a gun or two, as the enemy were in force on two sides, and might attack me at any moment; but he replied, "No, I cannot spare you a single one; you must depend upon your rifles and bayonets," promising, however, to send me a reinforcement of infantry. Two more companies of the 93rd (the grenadiers, under Captain Middleton, and No. 1, under Captain Clarke) soon after arrived; also some Madras native sappers, who helped to put the barrack into a state of defence. My right arm had become very stiff, but I carried it in a sling made from my neck-handkerchief. I had luckily worn my red tunic under the brown holland one, so the cut was not so deep as it would otherwise have been, and the wound on my hand was slight. A supply of provisions was brought up from the Dilkúsha, and my bearer soon found me out.

On the 17th a heavy artillery fire was kept up all day on the mess house, which towards evening was captured by a portion of the 53rd under Captain Hopkins, and a company of the 90th under Captain Wolseley (now Sir Garnet); a building called Banks' House, situated about 1000 or 1200 yards to my left, and not far from the bridge over the canal, leading to the Dilkúsha, being also stormed by, I believe, the 2nd Punjaub Infantry.



All this while the beleaguered garrison had not been idle, Outram and Havelock having advanced from the Residency on the 16th, and captured the Hern Khana and steam-engine house. Nothing therefore now remained to prevent the junction of the two forces but a large building called the Moti Mahul; and the wall of this having been at last broken down by some sappers, aided by the 53rd and 90th, a communication was effected, the gallant Kavanagh being the first to reach Sir James Outram, who came out immediately to meet Sir Colin, when the two Generals shook hands most heartily, Havelock afterwards joining them.


Lucknow was now relieved, but there was still plenty to be done.

CHAPTER VII.

Evacuation of the Residency—Death of Havelock.

ALTHOUGH the troops under Sir Colin Campbell and those under Outram had now, as it were, shaken hands, the difficult task of getting the ladies and children out of the Residency without risking any of their lives still remained; and the enemy continued to keep up a fire from the Kaisar Bagh, and other points, plying their muskets very vigorously in the neighbourhood of my own post. Sir Colin on one occasion sent a message desiring me to come to him at the Shah Nujjeef, as he wished to know how matters were going on. I told him that an incessant fire was kept up by the rebels, and asked his permission to sally out of the building and drive them away. His reply was, "I will only give you permission to do so if you will guarantee that you will not lose a single man." This promise I could not give, so had to submit to the peppering that daily went on.

The King of Oudh had in his service a number of Africans, who were armed with rifles, and I noticed several of these gentlemen amongst our assailants. One in particular behaved with great gallantry, and I am afraid to say how many shots



we fired at each other. He had apparently a small ladder, with which he used to climb to the top of the wall; his black face, surmounted by a huge turban, would then slowly appear, and bang would come a shot; after which, down would bob his head, and in a few seconds up it would come again at a different part of the wall, another shot following. It was my own practice to station myself at a window in the tower, with one or two men to load for me, and being a fair rifle shot, I did my best to diminish the numbers of black faces by which we were surrounded, taking a shot at my African friend whenever I got a chance. There was a building close by in which a number of the enemy were always posted, and at which I blazed away to the best of my ability; it was about 250 yards off, and, as I afterwards ascertained, occupied by a regiment of mutineers. An immense round shot struck my tower one day, and fell into the barrack. My own men fired through loopholes which we had constructed, one of them, a married man named Youngson, being unfortunately killed just as he was himself taking aim.

On the 18th there was a great deal of heavy firing to my left, and I imagine that Brigadier Russell was endeavouring to advance from Banks' House. The enemy seemed to be in a great state of excitement, and I was much amused watching them from my usual elevated post in the tower. There was one building that particularly caught my eye. The rebels defending it were on a sort of raised platform, and were brandishing their swords, and dancing about with their

shields as if daring the British to come on. The thought occurred to me that a rifle would perhaps reach them, so sighting for about 800 yards, I fired several shots, taking them in flank, but with what effect I know not. What the building was I could not make out positively, but I think it was a fortified mosque. It lay between our left flank and the Kaisar Bagh, or King's Palace.

Brigadier Russell was severely wounded on the 18th, and Colonel Biddulph, who succeeded him in the command of the troops on the extreme left, was unfortunately soon afterwards killed, Lieut.-Colonel Hale, of the 82nd Regiment, then becoming the senior officer at this important point.

On the night of the 18th or 19th, I am not quite sure which (as I was some way off, and fully occupied at the barracks), the whole of the women and children, together with the wounded and treasure, were quietly moved from the Residency to the Secunder Bagh, and then sent on to the Dilkúsha.

On the 20th Captain Peel opened fire with the whole of his guns on the Kaisar Bagh, Sir Colin now wishing the enemy to suppose that an assault upon that place was intended, and the bombardment was steadily kept up for three days.

The rebels still continued in close proximity to my post, but one day I missed the African who had made himself so prominent; a bullet, I fear, had at last struck his head; and a party of Highlanders, who sallied out and climbed the nearest gate, reported that a number of dead bodies were lying on the other side of the wall. One of the 93rd went off by himself to another gate, and

contrived to knock over a native who was walking down the street opposite to it. As we nightly expected to be attacked, sleep was out of the question; and I at last became so worn out, that I could hardly keep my eyes open. The flies too, which swarmed in the building, were a sad plague.

On the afternoon of the 22nd I received an intimation that the Residency was to be evacuated during the night, and that the whole force was to be quietly withdrawn. My orders were to be ready to move precisely at midnight, and an officer was sent to show me the road by which I was to retire. We had to cross an open space under fire of the rebels, but got across all right. For reasons which will be mentioned presently, I had desired Captain Middleton to accompany me, and we carefully explored the route of our intended night march, taking note of any house or tree likely to be useful as a guide, and then returned to the barrack, when I assembled the captains, and made arrangements for our departure. Everything depended upon secrecy and perfect stillness, and I gave orders that each of the four companies should fall in quietly at half-past eleven, and that especial care should be taken that the files were carefully counted, and that no man was permitted to sit down, knowing well that if any one did so, he would probably instantly fall asleep.

A little before the time appointed we were all ready, when suddenly a Staff Officer arrived with instructions, that I was on no account to vacate the post until I received further orders, as something had gone wrong at the Residency.

I asked him when he thought it likely I should be required to move, but he could give me not the slightest idea, promising, however, faithfully either to bring the order himself or to send an officer. He then quitted the barrack, and I was left in a most unpleasant state of suspense, knowing that my detachment was to be about the last to retire.

Midnight came—one o'clock passed—and still no fresh orders arrived. I now began to get anxious, but still felt sure the Staff Officer would keep his promise. It must have been getting on towards two a.m. when one of my sentries at the far end of the building reported that the sentry of the 23rd Fusiliers, nearest to him, had just called out that the 93rd were to retire. I told him he must be making some mistake; but he said No, that he heard the words quite plain. I then at once sent off an officer to the post occupied by the 23rd, which was the nearest to my own, and he soon brought word that he could not find a soul of any sort, the Fusiliers having all gone. Here was a pretty predicament, and the question now arose, "What was to be done?" It was a serious matter, and I took a few minutes to think over how I ought to act. It seemed strange that if the Commanding Officer of the 23rd had been told to pass the word on, he should not have sent an officer; and then again there was the positive and distinct promise of the Aide-de-Camp. I listened anxiously for sounds; but no, all was quiet, except an occasional musket-shot from the enemy. It became evident at last that the rest of the British had all gone, and I decided to act

on the message passed by the sentry of the 23rd. It was a grave responsibility to take upon myself, but I acted to the best of my judgment.

I had been in the habit of keeping up a small fire at the farther end of each of the two arms of the cross-shaped barrack in which I was posted that lay nearest to the enemy, and I had my rendezvous in the centre, where it was perfectly dark: by this means if the rebels had managed to get in during the night, we should have been able to distinguish friend from foe, and have speedily ejected them. I now proceeded to place some fresh logs on these fires, and took a couple of Highlanders to the loopholes, desiring them to fire one or two shots, and to remain till I came for them. The four companies were then quietly withdrawn, and formed up four deep, facing in the direction of the road we had been ordered to take. The grenadiers, under Captain Middleton, were in front, and as he had reconnoitred with me our line of retreat, I desired him to lead, saying that I would in a few minutes send him a message to step quietly off. We were at this time under the lee as it were of one of the four limbs of the cross, and I ascertained from each captain that every man was in the ranks, the sick and wounded, of which there were a few, being in doolies on the left flank of the column, together with my groom and charger. Having seen that everything was arranged as I wished, I now returned to the loopholes, and after a few parting shots had been fired quietly withdrew my two Highlanders, and returned to the column, which I now closed up, so that each man could touch

the one in front, and then sent word to Middleton to move off. The risk of being discovered lay in crossing an open space of about 150 yards, but the night was fortunately dark, and our last shots had called off the attention of the rebels to the opposite end of the building. We were soon over the exposed bit, and not a shot was fired at us, so silently did we steal across the square. All we had to do now was to avoid losing our way; but I had an excellent officer in Captain Middleton, and I derived great advantage from having taken him with me in the afternoon to explore the road. Tolerably certain as I felt that we were on the right track, I was not at all sorry presently to hear English voices, and on calling out "Who goes there?" was delighted to receive a cheery reply from Adrian Hope. My anxiety may be imagined as I asked the question, "Have *all* retired?" and inexpressible was my relief when he answered, "Yes, Ewart, all, and you are the last," or words to that effect. A great and terrible weight was at once removed from my shoulders, for had I retired before my time, Sir Colin would not have spared me.

I felt very angry at the breaking of his promise by the Staff Officer, and still more irritated with the Commanding Officer of the next post, for merely passing word by a sentry; in fact, I almost made up my mind to report the matter officially, so badly did I think I had been treated, and so serious might have been the consequences to myself; however, on consideration, I came to the conclusion that it would be more charitable

not to get any one into trouble, more especially as all had ended well.

We continued to retire till the whole force had reached the Martinière, when the 93rd received orders to bivouac. And now two very singular incidents took place, both referring to non-commissioned officers who had been with me in the barracks.

It must have been somewhere between two and three o'clock a.m. when we got to the Martinière, and the whole regiment was soon once more collected together under Lieut.-Colonel Leith-Hay. Fires were lit, and the men proceeded to discuss the events of the past night. Presently it began to be rumoured that the 78th Highlanders, who had come out of the Residency, were close by. Now we had in the 93rd a colour-sergeant named David Knox, who had been originally in that regiment, and no sooner did he hear the rumour than he decided to go off and see if it was true, foolishly quitting his own corps without asking leave. When morning came he was missing, and his Captain at once made inquiries, and was told he had gone to look for the 78th, and had never returned. It seemed strange that so exemplary a non-commissioned officer should be absent, and a messenger was despatched to the 78th. In a short time he returned, stating that Knox had succeeded in finding his old regiment, and that he had remained with them some little time, saying just before dawn of day that he must return to the 93rd, and that he then left them. From that moment to the present time nothing has ever been heard of the unfortunate man,

though parties of Highlanders were out all day searching for him. He must, I think, either have missed his way in the dark, and gone back to Lucknow, where he would be of course at once killed, or else have fallen down a well. There were some, however, who supposed that he had been murdered by camp-followers. The truth will never now be known, but it was a sad end for a man who had served throughout the whole Crimean War, and who was the only sergeant of the 93rd who had received the cross of the French Legion of Honour.

The case of the other non-commissioned officer of my regiment ended much more fortunately for himself.

Day had broken some time, when suddenly a sergeant named McPherson was seen running towards the regiment. He had not been missed, and no one could imagine where he was coming from. My astonishment was great on learning that he had just arrived from the barrack I had quitted at two a.m. It seems that after the roll had been quietly called, he foolishly sat down, and being dead beat with his ten nights out of bed, dropped off to sleep at once. Being in rear of his company his Captain did not miss him, and the result was that he was left behind. His astonishment on waking and finding himself all alone may be imagined, but fortunately the enemy had not discovered our departure, and were still, he stated, firing away at the barrack. The fearful danger of his position at once flashed across him, but he was a clear-headed fellow, and guessed the direction he ought to take, running

of course at full speed and luckily hitting upon the Martinière.

A sad accident happened during the day, as a quantity of loose powder which had been left on the ground by the rebels, and which had not been noticed, exploded through a spark from a soldier's pipe falling on it. Five men of the 93rd were terribly burnt, and all died a day or two afterwards.

We were soon moved nearer to the Dilkúsha, and then to my great delight I was able to get a clean shirt from my baggage, also a good wash; for some one having kindly lent me an Indian-rubber bath, I carried it off in triumph to a grove of trees, and my servant soon brought me some water. My wounded arm was also looked to by a surgeon, and I began to feel more comfortable.

The appearance of the poor fellows who had been blown up was pitiable in the extreme. I went to see them in the Dilkúsha, and their faces were quite black. Fearful indeed must have been their sufferings!

On the 24th we all moved to the Alumbagh, encamping in our old position. It was on this day that the gallant Havelock breathed his last, the cause of his death being an attack of dysentery. The whole force was much grieved to learn that he was no more. A grave was dug in the large square which surrounds the Alumbagh, and there one of England's bravest soldiers peacefully rests.

“Alike in peace and war one path he trod :
His law was Duty, and his guide was God.”

I had recovered the Colour which I captured in
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the Secunder-Bagh, and it was with considerable curiosity that I drew off the crimson case. It was, I then found, a green one, of a triangular shape, with some Hindostanee words on it. As I did not understand the language, I procured an interpreter, and learnt that it belonged to the 2nd battalion of the Loodiana Regiment of Sikhs, the only Sikh corps which had mutinied. A precisely similar Colour had been captured by Private McKay, of the 93rd grenadiers, at the assault of the Secunder-Bagh; so we had got the two Colours of the battalion, and they were now placed alongside the colours of the 93rd, and carried triumphantly to Cawnpore. McKay afterwards duly received the Victoria Cross, and I was told that I had been recommended for it; the names of three other officers of the 93rd were, however, I believe also sent in at the same time, and Sir Colin Campbell, who had become full Colonel of the regiment, by transfer from the 67th, decided that only one should receive the decoration, fearing perhaps that he might be accused of partiality. A meeting of the officers was in consequence held, and the matter was put to the vote, with (as I was informed in a letter) the following result.

Captain Stewart	18
Lieut.-Colonel Ewart	16
Captain Cooper	5

An officer who was absent, afterwards voting for me. I therefore lost the Victoria Cross by one vote. If two had been given, I should have obtained it, and the officers were fairly entitled to that number, the principal share of the fighting at the relief of Lucknow having fallen to the regiment.

However, it did not much matter, and I have never troubled myself since on the subject, or made any application for the decoration, though Captain Stewart died some time back; being perfectly satisfied with the consciousness of having done my duty to the best of my ability, and after all I was no braver than the rest of the 93rd. What gratified me very much was, that when encamped near the Alumbagh, Adrian Hope called me into his tent, and handed me a report he was sending in to Sir Colin, of the part his brigade had played in the relief of Lucknow, and in which my name was especially mentioned in connexion with the assault of the Secunder-Bagh: the terms were far too flattering to be repeated here.

The following is a nominal list of the officers killed or wounded at the final relief of Lucknow:—

KILLED.

General Staff.—Lieut.-Colonel G. Biddulph, Head of Intelligence Department, and Lieutenant A. L. Mayne, Deputy-Assistant Quartermaster-General.

Naval Brigade.—Midshipman M. A. Daniel.

Royal Artillery.—Captain W. N. Hardy.

Cavalry Brigade.—Captain G. Wheatcroft, 6th Dragoon Guards.

82nd Regiment.—Ensign W. T. Thompson.

84th Regiment.—Lieutenant B. Sandwith.

93rd Highlanders.—Captain J. Dalzell.

Attached to ditto.—Captain J. T. Lumsden, 30th N.I.

1st Madras Fusiliers.—Lieutenant Hobbs.

2nd Punjaub Infantry.—Lieutenant T. Frankland.

WOUNDED.

Staff.—General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., slightly; Brigadier-General D. Russell, severely; Major Archibald Alison,

Military Secretary, very severely (arm amputated); Captain F. M. Alison, Aide-de-Camp, slightly; Captain the Hon. A. Anson Aide-de-Camp, slightly; Lieutenant C. J. Salmond, slightly.

Naval Brigade.—Lieutenant M. Salmon, R.N., severely; Midshipman Lord A. P. Clinton, slightly; Captain J. C. Gray, Royal Marines, slightly.

Royal Artillery.—Major F. F. Pennycuick, slightly; Captain F. Travers, slightly; Lieutenant W. G. Millman, slightly; Lieutenant A. Ford, slightly; Assistant-Surgeon H. R. Veale, severely.

Bengal Artillery.—Captain H. Hammond, severely; Lieutenant H. E. Harrington, severely.

Hodson's Horse.—Lieutenant R. Halkett, severely.

23rd Fusiliers.—Lieutenant J. K. S. Henderson, slightly.

53rd Regiment.—Captain B. Walton, severely; Lieutenant A. K. Munro, dangerously; Lieutenant F. C. French, slightly.

82nd Regiment.—Lieut.-Colonel C. B. Hale, slightly.

90th Light Infantry.—Major R. Barnston, dangerously (died of wounds); Lieutenant E. C. Wynne, severely; Ensign H. Powell, severely.

93rd Highlanders.—Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel J. A. Ewart, two sabre cuts; Captain F. W. Burroughs, sabre cut; Lieutenant R. A. Cooper, sabre cut; Lieutenant E. Welch, very severely (shot through body); Lieutenant O. Goldsmith, severely (arm broken); Lieutenant S. E. Wood, severely; Ensign F. R. McNamara, sabre cut.

2nd Punjab Infantry.—Ensign J. Watson, dangerously.

4th Punjab Infantry.—Lieutenant W. Paul, dangerously (died of wounds); Lieutenant J. W. McQueen, severely. Lieutenant F. F. Oldfield, dangerously (died of wounds).

The following is a return of the casualties in the force under Sir Colin Campbell between the 12th and 18th November.

KILLED.

Staff.—2 officers, 3 horses.

Naval Brigade.—1 officer, 1 sergeant, 3 men.

Royal Engineers.—2 sergeants, 1 rank and file.

Artillery.—1 officer, 2 sergeants, 12 rank and file, 31 horses.

9th Lancers.—5 horses.

Return of Casualties.

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1st Punjaub Cavalry.—2 men, 1 horse.
2nd Punjaub Cavalry.—1 man, 1 horse.
23rd Fusiliers.—3 rank and file.
53rd Regiment.—1 sergeant, 9 rank and file.
82nd Regiment.—1 officer, 1 rank and file.
84th Regiment.—1 officer.
93rd Highlanders.—2 officers, 1 sergeant, 36 rank and file
Detachment 5th Fusiliers.—5 rank and file.
Detachment 64th Regiment.—4 rank and file.
Detachment 84th Regiment.—1 rank and file.
Detachment 90th Light Infantry.—6 rank and file.
Detachment 1st Madras Fusiliers.—1 officer, 3 rank and file.
2nd Punjaub Infantry.—1 officer, 1 native officer, 4 rank and file.
4th Punjaub Infantry.—1 havildar, 12 rank and file.
Total killed.—11 officers, 1 native officer, 8 sergeants, 103 rank and file, 42 horses.

WOUNDED.

Staff.—6 officers, 6 horses.
Naval Brigade.—3 officers, 2 sergeants, 15 men.
Royal Engineers.—2 sergeants, 15 rank and file.
Artillery.—7 officers, 2 sergeants, 57 rank and file.
9th Lancers.—3 horses.
1st Punjaub Cavalry.—1 man, 1 horse.
2nd Punjaub Cavalry.—1 horse.
5th Punjaub Cavalry.—1 man, 4 horses.
Hodson's Horse.—1 officer, 1 sergeant, 2 men, 4 horses.
8th Regiment.—1 man.
23rd Fusiliers.—1 officer, 18 rank and file.
53rd Regiment.—3 officers, 2 sergeants, 61 rank and file.
82nd Regiment.—1 officer, 1 sergeant, 12 rank and file.
93rd Highlanders.—7 officers, 5 sergeants, 57 rank and file, 1 horse.
Detachment 5th Fusiliers.—1 sergeant, 2 rank and file.
Detachment 64th Regiment.—7 rank and file.
Detachment 84th Regiment.—1 sergeant, 7 rank and file.
Detachment 90th Light Infantry.—3 officers, 2 sergeants, 20 rank and file.
Detachment 1st Madras Fusiliers.—12 rank and file.
2nd Punjaub Infantry.—1 officer, 1 native officer, 14 rank and file.

4th Punjaub Infantry.—3 officers, 3 native officers, 4 sergeants, 46 rank and file.

Total wounded.—36 officers, 4 native officers, 23 sergeants, 352 rank and file, and 48 horses.

It will be seen that the loss of my own regiment, the 93rd, was 2 officers, 1 sergeant, 36 rank and file, killed. 7 officers, 5 sergeants, 57 rank and file, wounded, and this between the 12th and 18th November only.

CHAPTER VIII.

The bridge over the Ganges saved !—Defeat of the Gwalior Contingent.

ON the 25th we once more got our tents, not at all sorry to do so, the nights being now rather cold. The enemy fired some guns at us on the 26th, but did little or no mischief. Sir Colin Campbell now decided to leave General Outram, with a force of about 4000 men, in front of Lucknow, whilst he himself escorted the women, children, and wounded to Cawnpore, with a view of sending them on to Allahabad. The 93rd was ordered to accompany Sir Colin, and we marched on the morning of the 27th from the Alumbagh, having perhaps about 3000 men altogether, to take charge of 2000 maimed or helpless creatures. After crossing the river Sie, at Bunnee, we encamped for the night, the sound of a distant cannonade being now heard.

General Windham had been left in command at Cawnpore, and it was well known that the Gwalior Contingent had been for some time threatening to advance, still I fancy Sir Colin quite thought that he would get back from Lucknow before any attack took place. The Gwalior men had, however, contrived to effect a junction


with some of the old troops of Nana Sahib and others, and having at last mustered up courage, commenced their march towards the Ganges, doubtless intending to gain possession of the bridge of boats, and so prevent the re-crossing of the force under Sir Colin.

On the 26th November, Windham, with a force of about 2000 men and a few guns, moved out from his intrenchment, determined to show a bold front, and, if possible, defeat the enemy without assistance from others. In the first instance he was successful, as, falling in with the mutineers, a few miles from Cawnpore, he completely defeated them. Unfortunately he had only gained a victory over an advanced party, and the main body of the enemy soon coming up, he was obliged to fall back in order to defend Cawnpore, and avoid being cut off.

On the 27th, the very day on which we had marched from the Alumbagh, a fierce attack was made upon General Windham's little force, the enemy bringing forward a number of guns. The fight went on the greater part of the day, the British being again forced to retire, but retaining possession of a portion of the town.

On the following day the battle was renewed, the mutineers pressing on with great vigour. A large quantity of stores and baggage had been left in the English church and assembly-rooms; these buildings, however, unfortunately were lost, and after a series of disasters, the British being terribly outnumbered, and far inferior in point of artillery, were obliged to retire into the fort.

And now arose the all-important question, who



would reach the bridge of boats first—Sir Colin's force, or the Gwalior men?

It having become evident from the firing that Cawnpore was attacked, early on the 28th we recommenced our march. The distance to be accomplished was about forty miles, but all pressed forward anxiously, as everybody felt the importance of saving the bridge; it was, in fact, a matter of vital consequence. As we hurried onwards, the roar of the cannonade became louder and louder, and it was quite clear that the enemy must be in considerable strength. At last positive intelligence reached Sir Colin, messengers having been sent by General Windham, and the old General galloped forward with an escort, and reached the fort in safety.

Before night we had arrived within a mile or two of Cawnpore, and the force was ordered to rest after its long march, during which, I fear, many of the wounded must have succumbed. Preparations were now made for the morrow.

Early on the morning of the 29th, the whole of Peel's heavy guns were sent some little distance above the bridge, and these, assisted, I think, by those of Captain Travers, at once opened a tremendous fire upon the enemy, so distracting their attention that the bridge of boats was for the moment forgotten, and Sir Colin seized the opportunity of throwing across the 93rd. We were soon over the Ganges, experiencing but little loss, though one officer, Ensign D. Hay, got hit in the leg; other troops followed, and we took up a position in front of Windham's Fort, and protecting the bridge. All was now right for the

moment, but the mutineers revenged themselves by setting fire to the assembly-rooms and other buildings, favouring us also with a great many round shot and shells.


During the night the women, children, and wounded were all brought safely over, and now all we had to do was to protect them from the enemy, and wait for reinforcements. The rebels must have numbered quite 20,000, with about forty guns, so to attack them at present was impossible, our small force having quite enough to do to guard those under our charge.

The position taken up by Sir Colin ran round in a sort of semi-circle, General Wheeler's intrenchment being near the centre; the right resting on Windham's Fort and the bridge of boats. The canal separated us from the enemy, but there were several bridges over it, and it was in their power to cross and attack us at any moment. The ladies and children had been placed, I think, in the old artillery barrack, but I was too much occupied with my duties to pay them a visit, and we all had to do our best to prevent their being disturbed by the mutineers.

We remained quietly encamped on the 30th, the tents of the 93rd being pitched on the plain, not far from the two buildings so gallantly defended by my poor cousin and his unfortunate companions. My regiment had rather a narrow escape on this day. It was the custom in India to carry the spare ammunition in boxes, covered with sacking, on the backs of camels. These had all been unloaded, and were piled up near my tent, a sergeant's guard being placed over them.

One of the privates foolishly began to polish up his rifle, forgetting that it was loaded; and presently off it went, right into the ammunition, the ignited cartridge setting fire to the sacking of one of the boxes. Luckily I was standing close by, and seeing that not a moment must be lost, rushed up and got the box removed, causing a quantity of water to be poured on it. Fortunately no harm resulted; but had the whole of the ammunition exploded, the consequences would have been most serious—in fact, terrible. I went off immediately afterwards to Adrian Hope, and advised him to get all the boxes moved away from the neighbourhood of the camp, and placed under an officer's guard. This was at once done, and they were taken to a fives court, some little distance off.


On the 1st December I was field-officer of the day for the brigade, and had to visit all the pickets. The enemy on this morning, having doubtless gained courage by the inaction of the British, suddenly opened fire on our camp, and we had all to turn out very rapidly—some of the round shot going right through the tents. Just as the regiment was forming up in line, a shrapnell shell burst near the centre, knocking over Captain Cornwall and several men. Sir Colin then ordered the 93rd to advance towards the canal, and take up a position in rear of some houses, where it remained for the day. I remember on this morning having some conversation with Sir Colin, who was much irritated at being compelled to act on the defensive. I could not help observing how much I wished we had Outram



and the regiments we had left near Lucknow, as we could then drive the rascals away; to which the old General replied, "Yes, Ewart, so do I; but I could not quite foresee all this." I then asked him if he would like to have the Colour I had captured; and he said, "Yes, above all things;" adding, that it should always be kept as an heirloom in his family.

Not long after this I mounted my charger, and went off to visit some of the brigade guards and pickets. As I was close to one of them, some of the enemy crossed over one of the canal bridges, and put up a wall piece, from which they fired a few rounds. The balls fell near me, but hit nobody. One or two prisoners were taken on this day; they were Sepoys, but I forget to what regiments they had belonged.

After visiting the outposts, I returned to the 93rd, and dismounted from my horse. The regiment was still posted as Sir Colin had ordered, and where it was protected from the artillery fire still kept up by the enemy—a company being placed behind each house. Whilst standing between two of these buildings for the purpose of sceing, if possible, what the mutineers were about, a cannon-shot suddenly struck me on the left elbow, completely carrying off the arm, which merely hung by a thin piece of skin. I was aware that I had been struck violently on the left side, but did not know what had actually taken place, until I looked down and saw the bleeding stump. The ball had also broken the handle of my revolver and smashed my field-glass—the latter a serious loss, as it was the one given to



me by my eldest brother, and which had proved so useful in the Crimea and at Lucknow. The blow did not knock me down, nor did I feel any inclination to fall; but a soldier of the 93rd, named Peter McKay (the same man who had been with me in the Redan on the night of the 8th September, 1855), ran up at once, and tied his handkerchief tightly round the stump. Captain Burroughs, who was in command of the nearest company, and others, also kindly came to my help, and I was placed in a doolie, and carried off to a bungalow which had been converted into a field hospital. Here I was immediately attended to by Dr. Munro, the Surgeon of my regiment, who, after looking at the wound, cut (I think with a pair of scissors) the thin piece of skin by which the arm had been left hanging. He then said a further amputation would be necessary, but that I must keep quiet, as it would not be safe to perform the operation until I had recovered from the shock which my system had received. I begged him to go on then; but he said No; that it would endanger my life, and that I should perhaps have to wait some hours. In a few minutes he returned, and I again begged hard to be operated upon at once, as the sight of the bleeding stump worried me very much. He felt my pulse, and said his doing so would be attended with serious risk. My entreaties, however, at last prevailed, and in accordance with my wish I was carried off to the amputating-table, where the three Assistant-Surgeons of the 93rd (Sinclair, Menzies, and Pollard) were also in attendance. Some chloroform was then adminis-

tered to me, and I became insensible. What then took place I do not know; but when I came to myself again, another piece of the arm was gone, and the wound had been nicely bandaged up. I was then replaced in the doolie, and had leisure to think over what had occurred—not that I could do so in perfect peace, as shells continued to fall round the bungalow, which had unfortunately only a thatched roof. Luckily none fell on the top of it, but one burst not far from the door.

My first feeling was one of bitter sorrow and annoyance, as I had always been excessively fond of cricket, archery, and billiards, and now felt that I should never again be able to join in these amusements. What also worried me much was the singular circumstance that I now felt the fingers and thumb of my left hand much plainer than before the arm was knocked off, with the irritating sensation that I could not move them. I spoke to the doctors on the subject, and they consoled me by saying the feeling would wear off in time. Alas! it is precisely the same as I write these lines, though nearly eighteen years have passed by. Adrian Hope soon came to see me, good-naturedly bringing an air-cushion of his own, which he thought would prove useful; and William Peel, with many others, paid me friendly visits—Lieut.-Colonel Gordon most kindly writing a few lines to my mother to acquaint her with my loss, as my right arm was still stiff from the sabre wounds. There were several other wounded in the house where I was lying, and one poor fellow seemed in fearful agony. I made no inquiries at

the time respecting my left arm, but I have since learnt that it was buried in the garden, or compound, which surrounded the bungalow.

The enemy continued to fire daily at the position occupied by the British, but without venturing to attack; and on the night of the 3rd December the Trunk Road being covered by Sir Colin's force, the whole of the women and children, together with a great number of the wounded, were sent off to Allahabad, protected by a strong escort. I had thought it possible that I might accompany them, but was told by Doctor Munro that in my present state it would not do to move me, as, he said, I should most assuredly die on the road. Feeling I could be of no further use in the field, I would gladly have gone, and would have run my chance of reaching Allahabad: a soldier must, however, always obey orders, and I bowed to the opinion of my Surgeon, hoping that I might soon be moved away at all events from under fire of the enemy's guns. An attempt was made by the mutineers about this time to destroy the bridge of boats over the Ganges by floating down fire-rafts, but it luckily failed, as did also an endeavour to turn the British left flank.

On the 5th December I was at last moved to a large stone building near the river, and found myself in a room on the ground floor, with the following officers, namely, Captain Cornwall, 93rd, shot through the shoulder by a ball from a shrapnell shell; Lieutenants Goldsmith and S. E. Wood, 93rd, both wounded in the arm; Lieutenant Welch, 93rd, shot through the body; Ensign Hay, 93rd, wounded in leg; Captain Munro, 53rd, shot

through the body, and an officer of the Company's service named McCrea, who had his arm broken by a ball. Lieutenant Sterling, of the 93rd, a particularly nice lad, who used to take the ladies' parts in our Crimean theatricals, was also brought in on the 6th, with his right leg terribly smashed by a cannon ball. Soon after I had been transferred from the bungalow, I received a visit from Sir Colin Campbell, who told me he intended to send my Colour to England immediately, saying he hoped I should soon be able to rejoin the 93rd. Hope Grant also came, and sat by my side for some time.

On the 6th reinforcements having at last arrived, and being no longer hampered by the women and children, Sir Colin attacked the enemy, completely defeating them, though his own force of about 6000 men was opposed to upwards of 20,000. In this battle, General Mansfield (afterwards Lord Sandhurst) and Hope Grant both distinguished themselves, the enemy losing seventeen guns and all their baggage and tents. As I was not present, I can give no details, and must refer all who wish for full particulars of the fight to an admirably written account in *Blackwood's Magazine* for the month of October, 1858.

The enemy retreated hastily towards Bithoor, the Nana's residence, but being quickly followed by Adrian Hope's brigade, and some cavalry under Hope Grant, were soon caught up, fifteen more of their guns being then captured. Their rout was now complete, and after numbers had been killed, the rest dispersed in all directions.

Those who require further information respecting the suppression of the great Indian Mutiny cannot do better than procure Kaye's interesting work (two volumes of which only have, however, as yet been published), and Hope Grant's "Incidents of the Sepoy War," compiled by Captain Knollys, R.A. A very touching account of the Cawnpore massacre has also been written by G. O. Trevelyan, Esq.

The following is the nominal roll of officers killed or wounded in actions with the enemy at Cawnpore from the 26th November to the 2nd December, 1857, inclusive:—

KILLED.

88th Connaught Rangers.—Captain H. H. Day, 26th Nov.

34th Regiment.—Lieutenant E. Jordan, Ensigns T. G. Applegate and L. J. Greer, 28th Nov.

64th Regiment.—Colonel N. Wilson, K.H., Major Sterling, Captains Morphy and McCrea, Lieutenant McKinnon, 28th Nov.

52nd Light Infantry (attached to 64th).—Lieutenant Gibbons, 28th Nov.

Rifle Brigade.—Lieut.-Colonel C. Woodford, 28th Nov.

82nd Regiment.—Lieutenant A. P. Hensley, 29th Nov.

WOUNDED.

88th Connaught Rangers.—Lieutenants Birch, Burke, and W. M. Gilby, Ensign Mitchell, 26th Nov.; Lieutenant and Adjutant Evans, Lieutenants Austen, and Clarke (attached), 27th Nov.

34th Regiment.—Lieut.-Colonel R. D. Kelly, 27th Nov.; Major J. Maxwell and Brevet-Major J. Jordan, Captains F. D. Cassidy and D. Stewart, Lieutenants R. J. Cochrane, T. S. Holroyd, and H. Lampen, 28th Nov.

64th Regiment.—Lieutenant N. T. Parsons (attached), Assistant-Surgeon T. Carey, 28th Nov.

82nd Regiment.—Major C. T. V. B. Isaac, Captain J. Gordon, 28th Nov.; Lieutenant C. J. East, 26th Nov.

Rifle Brigade.—Lieutenants W. S. Travers and Pemberton, 27th Nov.; Captains M. Dillon and L. P. Milles, Ensign H. Lawton, Cadets Dyce (attached) and Madden (attached), 28th Nov.; Lieutenant C. Armstrong (interpreter), 29th Nov.

93rd Highlanders.—Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel J. A. Ewart, Captain G. Cornwall, 1st Dec.; Ensign D. Hay, 29th Nov.

Naval Brigade.—Midshipman Lord W. T. Kerr, 29th Nov.

CHAPTER IX.

Left in the lurch.

FOR the first few days my stump progressed favourably, healing, as the doctors say, by the first intentions. My old servant, John Donaldson, and a young bandsman of the 93rd named William Macpherson, whose uncle, Colour-Sergeant James Macpherson, afterwards obtained a commission, took it in turns to watch me, and I hoped soon to be about once more. The former was one day sitting by my side, when he suddenly uttered a loud exclamation: I could not think what was the matter, but on glancing to my left saw that the bandage round my stump was covered with blood. Something had gone wrong, and I despatched my servant at once for the doctor; he soon came, and luckily managed to stop the bleeding. I do not know what caused it, but I had still nothing but my doolie to lie in, and conclude that I must have injured the stump in some way.

Poor Sterling underwent amputation of the right thigh, and seemed to suffer terribly from his wound, calling out constantly to be moved. In accordance with his wish he was at last placed next to myself, but died a few days after the cannon-shot struck him.

The flies and mosquitoes were a sad worry, and as Macpherson was soon ordered to rejoin his regiment, I desired my native servant to procure a boy from the town for the purpose of trying to keep off the former, which literally swarmed. Although the bleeding had been stopped, my wound no longer presented the same satisfactory appearance, and in a short time the stump was attacked by what is called hospital gangrene, in other words, it began to mortify. Matters now looked serious, and I begged the Assistant-Surgeon, in whose charge I had been placed, to at once perform a second amputation; this, however, he declined to do, saying he had more work to attend to than he could possibly manage.

Although the 93rd Highlanders possessed a Surgeon and three Assistant-Surgeons, they were all taken away with the regiment when it advanced from Cawnpore on the 6th December, and the wounded officers and men belonging to it and other regiments were handed over to a perfect stranger, an Assistant-Surgeon on the Staff, who was so overworked that it was quite out of his power to bestow the necessary care and attention upon the unfortunate sufferers entrusted to him.

The gangrene continued to spread, and I besought the medical officer to take what was left of my arm out of the socket; he seemed, however, to be completely knocked up, and it would have fared badly with me but for the following circumstance.

As good luck would have it, the 93rd had been detained at Bithoor, the Nana's residence, about eight miles from Cawnpore, to search for treasure,

and for other reasons, and the Surgeon (Munro) fortunately rode over to see how we were all going on. When he saw my stump, which he had left in a good condition after his skilful amputation, he was perfectly horrified, and at once sat down and wrote out a prescription for a lotion, saying that my only chance was to give this to the doctor who was attending me, and that he must apply it without delay, and frequently; he then, after looking at the others, took his departure, being required to return immediately. This happened on Christmas Day, and about the same time Colonel Inglis, of the 32nd, who had replaced General Windham in command at the fort, chanced to visit the hospital. He saw directly the bad state I was in, and most kindly said he would at once order the Surgeon of his own regiment (Doctor Boyd) to visit me; I was also moved into another room. Efforts had previously been made to burn out the gangrene from my stump, causing me great agony, but without avail.

In this second room the flies were, if possible, more numerous than in the other. An officer was in it, very seriously ill with dysentery, and the air was about as bad for a man in my state as it could possibly be. Even Munro's prescription would hardly have saved me, but for a most unexpected and welcome visit from an old and kind friend, Major Ouvry, of the 9th Lancers, who had by some means heard of my unfortunate condition. He had been himself very unwell, and had been left at Cawnpore, where he took up his quarters in a deserted bungalow, at no great distance from the English church. Why he had selected this house

I never could make out, but it was the means, under God's good providence, of my life being saved. The moment he saw me, and observed the atmosphere I was compelled to breathe, he said at once, "Ewart, my dear fellow, you must leave this place. I have a house in the town, will you come and live with me?" I replied that I would willingly go anywhere, if he could get me moved; and he immediately had an interview with the doctor. The latter offered no objection, being thankful, no doubt, to be rid of what he probably considered a hopeless case; and some native bearers having been procured, I was speedily transported, under Ouvry's kind superintendence, to the above-mentioned bungalow, situated at a considerable distance from the hospital, and on the other side of the canal.

A charpoy, or Indian bedstead, was soon procured, and my native servant managed to purchase in the town a soft kind of mattress, stuffed with cotton, so that I had soon a comfortable bed, instead of the old doolie in which I had so long lain. Doctor Boyd now came to see me, having been sent by Colonel Inglis, and I handed to him Munro's prescription. He made a careful examination of my stump, and I noticed that his look was not a hopeful one; he stated, however, that he would give the prescription a trial, and then went away, telling others, as I heard afterwards, that there was little, if any, chance of my recovering.

Shortly before my removal I had received a most kind note from Captain Peel, of the Royal Navy; it ran as follows, and I keep it as a

memorial of one of the most gallant sailors that ever served her Majesty :—

“CAMP NEAR CAWNPORE,
“23rd December, 1857.

“My dear Colonel Ewart,—The march is resumed to-morrow, and I did not know it till late this evening. I am quite sorry not to see you again before leaving. The toilet vinegar that accompanies this, if it has the merit assigned, may possibly relieve your headache; and I should advocate the use of eau-de-Cologne with the liberality of a lady's hand, in a building temporarily converted as a hospital. I trust, my dear Colonel Ewart, that God, in His mercy, may give you speedy recovery.

“Yours very truly,

“(Signed) WILLIAM PEEL.”

A large bottle of eau-de-Cologne, and another of toilet vinegar, were sent at the same time, and proved of the greatest service to me. A few months afterwards the thoughtful and generous donor was himself wounded, and, I fear, may then have wanted them. Poor fellow! when he penned these friendly lines he was in the prime of health, whilst I was almost at death's door; and yet in a short time he was called away, having succumbed to an attack of small-pox following upon his wound, whilst it pleased God to spare me. The greatest losses caused by the Indian Mutiny were the deaths of Henry Lawrence, Henry Havelock, Adrian Hope, and William Peel.

And now, unfortunately, my sufferings were to

be still further increased, as I was attacked with what the doctor called pleurodynia, a sort of rheumatism in the body. The pain at times was most excruciating, and being wounded in both arms, I hardly knew in what position to lie; my back, too, began to suffer from bed sores, and I was soon so reduced that my legs hung like two bits of string, all power to use them being gone. My servant propped me up the best way he could, and by means of opium I obtained some sleep.

Notwithstanding my pitiable condition, Munro's prescription of nitric acid began to tell on the stump, assisted by the fresh and wholesome air, which, thanks to Ouvry, I was now able to breathe. The mortification was checked, and the flesh gradually assumed a healthy aspect. Repeated doses of quinine and other remedies also at last subdued the fearful twinges in my body, and by degrees my appetite and strength returned.

As soon as Doctor Boyd had given it as his opinion that I could be moved from my bed, the kind and good-natured Ouvry went off in search of an arm-chair, returning in triumph with an old buggy, or carriage, which the mutineers had only partially destroyed; and having knocked off the wheels, he soon rigged up a most comfortable seat, where I was duly installed with a pillow and cushion; and as my native servant was able to procure me fresh eggs, and grapes packed in cotton, I soon felt that the danger was passed, and that I should see old England once more. I was still, of course, too weak to stand; but was now able to look about, and could see the tower of the English church through a glass door at one end

of the room. I also noticed what appeared to be a sort of hotel at no great distance, and am disposed to think that I was very close to the house in which the unfortunate ladies and children were murdered.

With the exception of the 32nd (about 200 strong only), the 34th, and four companies of the 38th, the whole of the troops had long since moved away to some distance from Cawnpore; and as I lay awake at night, thinking of my helpless state, and of the fearful atrocities which had been perpetrated in the town, the thought would often occur that the mutineers might take advantage of Sir Colin's absence, to return; or that the natives in the city might murder me for the sake of revenge, and in order to get possession of my baggage. The fort was at some distance, and Ouvry must have had great pluck to reside out of it. However, I was most thankful to have got away from the hospital, and intended to make the best fight I could with my right arm, the sabre cuts on which had nearly healed up. A loaded revolver was always placed by my side at night, but for some days I should have had hard work to fire it. I never saw the room in which Ouvry slept; my own was quite unfurnished, with the exception of the stretcher or charpoy on which I slept. It had a stone floor, and was a plain, white-washed apartment with six glass doors; or rather, what once were glass, for many of the panes had been broken, and had merely been mended by our servants with paper.

Some time in the month of January I received a visit from Dr. McAndrew, the principal medical

officer in India, who was on his way down from Delhi to Calcutta; he was very kind, and said I must go home. On the 14th two mutineers who had been caught were hung at Cawnpore. The rebels at Lucknow mustered up courage to attack Outram's force early in the month, but met with a warm reception from the 78th and other Regiments, and speedily retired, no doubt employing their time afterwards in strengthening their fortifications.

A few of the Naval Brigade had been left at Cawnpore; and one of the mids occasionally paid me a visit. I also heard the news from Boyd; and found that Sir Colin had taken Futtyghur Fort and Furruckabad, but could learn nothing respecting my own regiment, except that it was with him. I felt sure an advance would next be made upon Bareilly.

About the 20th January I was just able to hobble about by means of a strong stick, my servant supporting me on the other side. On the 23rd a Medical Board, consisting of Staff-Surgeon Roberts, as President, and Field-Surgeon Draper and Field-Assistant-Surgeon Webb, as members, assembled in my room; and I was at once recommended for eighteen months' leave of absence for the restoration of my health, being told that I could start as soon as I liked. The question now arose, How was I to get to Calcutta? for it became evident I should have to get there the best way I could, without any help from the authorities. The distance was just 628 miles, and I was not in a particularly fit state to travel. However, I had had quite enough of Cawnpore,

and determined to make the attempt at once. Calling my native servant, who had stuck to me in a most faithful manner, I desired him to go off immediately and see if he could hire a conveyance of any sort. To my great joy, in a short time he returned with the news that he had secured one, and also a driver; and I decided to start the following morning.

I have mentioned that, when dining with Lord Canning, at Government House, I had the pleasure of being introduced to Mrs. Talbot, wife of his Private Secretary. She had apparently heard of my wound, and most kindly sent me several newspapers from Calcutta. I was looking over them one day, when my eye caught sight of a small paragraph, in which it was intimated that a house had been fitted up at 1, Little Russell Street, Chowringhee, for any wounded officers who might arrive at Calcutta. This notice I carefully treasured up; for it struck me it might prove useful, and it now recurred to my recollection.

I do not remember whether my friend Ouvry left Cawnpore before me; he was, I think, waiting for the arrival of his wife from Agra. I owe him a great debt of gratitude; for I cannot help feeling that, but for his great kindness in coming to see me, and causing my removal to the bungalow he had taken possession of, I should probably never have quitted the hospital alive. To Dr. Munro, too, the Surgeon of the 93rd, my best and most heartfelt thanks are due; first, for his skilful amputation; and secondly, for riding in from Bithoor to see me, when he heard of the dan-

gerous state I was in. His wonderful prescription undoubtedly was the means of stopping the gangrene, and so saving my life. To Colonel Inglis (afterwards Sir John) and Dr. Boyd, of the 32nd Regiment, I also feel deeply grateful. Both, alas ! are dead.

Amongst many kind friends who came to see me when lying wounded, I must not forget to mention Lieut.-Colonel Alexander Cameron, of the 42nd Royal Highlanders, whose regiment reached Cawnpore about the 5th December. Having previously seen a notice of his death in a Calcutta paper, I was not a little astonished when he walked into the hospital, looking well and hearty. Poor fellow ! strange to say, he died shortly afterwards.

CHAPTER X.

A wounded man's journey—Chowringhee.

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 24th January I left Cawnpore—a name that will ever be connected with the saddest recollections—after fifty-four days of suffering and anxiety. The carriage my Madras bearer had hired was what is called in India a garry, drawn by one horse; (it contains two seats, facing one another, the luggage being carried on the top). Old Donaldson (my 93rd servant) travelled with me inside; the trustworthy Cheney being perched on the box by the native who drove, a syce, or groom, sitting behind. My spirits rose wonderfully as I felt myself once more on the move. We passed close by the spot where I had lost my arm; and as I took a farewell glance at General Wheeler's ruined intrenchment, I thought of my poor murdered cousin and his wife and child. Well, I had done my best to avenge their death, and I felt that I could do no more.

We had not gone many miles when we fell in with the 7th Hussars and 79th Regiment, who were marching up from Calcutta, but had just encamped. I stopped my garry directly, and with the assistance of my stick and servant

managed to reach the tents of the Cameron Highlanders, very glad to meet my old friends of the Crimea again. Colonel Douglas (now Sir John) was with them; and the officers kindly gave me a bowl of soup, which I much enjoyed. I enquired for Colonel Taylor, but was told he had been left in command at Futtehpore. After remaining about half an hour I proceeded on my journey, and being fortunately able to obtain a change of horses, reached Khaga, a distance of seventy-two miles, about ten p.m. The railway to Allahabad commenced at this place; and a large tent had been erected for the accommodation of passengers. Here I passed the night, thankful to get some rest. In the morning I saw that I had a companion, and was greatly amused at the careful manner in which he performed his ablutions and dressed himself. We got into conversation soon after, and I found him to be a very gentlemanlike and agreeable man. He turned out to be Brigadier-General Ramsay, who, I believe, commanded the Gwalior Contingent, or a portion of them, before they mutinied. He died a few years back, but had he lived to the present time, would now be Earl of Dalhousie, as his younger brother, in the Royal Navy, one of the kindest men I ever met, has since succeeded to the title.

The train did not leave Khaga till two o'clock on the afternoon of the 25th, and though the distance was only fifty-five miles, it took just four hours to reach Allahabad. The mutineers had burnt all the first-class carriages, and I got much shaken in the one I travelled in, having after-

wards to walk three-quarters of a mile to the fort. It took me some time to accomplish this, even with the help of my stick and bearer, old Donaldson taking care of my baggage. On my way I met a fine-looking officer, dressed in the uniform of the 84th; he inquired who I was, and told me he was Colonel Franklin. On at last reaching the fort (situated close to the junction of the Ganges and Jumna), I found there, to my great delight, two officers of the 93rd, Cunyngham (now Sir Robert Dick Cunyngham, Bart.), who had been wounded in Peel's fight near Futtehpoore, and Deans-Campbell, who gave me some dinner—a doctor whose name I have forgotten afterwards kindly dressing my stump, which it much required.

It was five days before I was able to leave Allahabad, but on the 30th I again started in a hired garry, this time accompanied only by my Madras servant and the native driver and syce, Donaldson having received orders to rejoin his regiment. I had considerable difficulty to get across the Ganges; having at last managed to do so, I pushed on to Benares, distant seventy-eight miles from Allahabad, and by travelling all night, arrived there safely at six a.m. on the 31st. Here I succeeded in obtaining accommodation at a sort of hotel, being obliged to remain there for four days, as I was told all the horses along the Trunk Road had been engaged by Lord Canning, who was travelling up from Calcutta. Fortunately I was not quite alone, as I found, at the hotel, Evans of the 88th, who had been badly wounded, and one or two others. The Governor-

General's Staff made their appearance on the 2nd February, and on the 3rd, Lord Canning himself arrived. After holding a sort of levée, he at once proceeded on to Allahabad.

At half-past four p.m. on the 4th, having succeeded in obtaining another garry and horse, I once more got under weigh, and after again crossing the Ganges, travelled as far as Dehree, arriving there about ten a.m. on the 5th. Here I made a halt of a couple of hours, and got some breakfast at a dâk bungalow. At noon I was off again, and now I had a difficult matter to accomplish, namely, the crossing of the great river Soane. Fortunately some natives kindly came to my assistance, and having succeeded in getting safely over, I contrived to reach Sherghotty, distant 130 miles from Benares, about eight o'clock the same evening. Here I remained for three hours, getting a capital fowl-curry with some tea and eggs, at a dâk bungalow. I was very tired, but so long as I could move forward, I determined to push on, and at eleven p.m. I ordered out the garry and again started.

From Benares, my companions were still only three natives, namely, my Madras servant, and the driver, and syce, and I had now to get through the celebrated Dunwah Pass, a most gloomy portion of the Trunk Road, with jungle extending for miles on each side. On my bearer I placed full reliance, as he had attended me most faithfully up to the present time, nursing me carefully through my long illness; but of the various drivers and syces who succeeded each other, of course I knew nothing, and it was easy

for them to lay a plot with others to kill me and plunder my baggage. I had determined to keep awake all this night, and saw that my sword was handy, for besides the risk of being attacked by disbanded mutineers or other natives, there was the chance of a tiger taking a fancy to a wounded Highlander: two wolves I had already seen. The fatigue I had undergone was, however, too much for my present debilitated condition, and in spite of all my endeavours I fell fast asleep, waking up to find we had got through the Pass in safety. I did not again stop except to change horses and drivers, till we reached Burkutee, where we arrived at eleven a.m. on the 6th, and I was then glad to get some breakfast. In an hour I was off again, and did not halt till we came to another dāk bungalow, about eleven p.m., where I managed to obtain some tea and eggs. Bed would now have been the best place for me, but at midnight I was again off. About four a.m. a terrific storm came on, the rain falling in torrents, whilst the lightning flashed and thunder pealed in all directions, the wind blowing almost a hurricane. The unfortunate horse lay down several times, and my position was not a pleasant one, the garry being repeatedly all but over. After a couple of hours, the storm fortunately ceased. We had been obliged to cross another river, near Tuldangah, and the bridge having been broken down, my conveyance had to be dragged through by coolies, the water coming right into the garry. In this world I believe all difficulties can be surmounted by a little perseverance and determination, and at nine o'clock on the morning of the

7th, I arrived safely at Raneegunge, at that time the terminus of the Calcutta railway, distant about 300 miles from Benares, and about 500 from Cawnpore.

And now a great pleasure was in store for me, as I found encamped here my old regiment, the 35th, which had at last been ordered to leave Barrackpore, and was now *en route* for Dinapore. The Surgeon (Chambers) and the Assistant-Surgeon most good-naturedly at once attended to my wound, and I received a hearty welcome from many old friends in the Royal Sussex. After spending the day very pleasantly, I left by train half an hour before midnight, for Howrah. There was one passenger in the carriage, who was most kind and attentive, and being utterly worn out I fell asleep directly, awaking to find myself, about four a.m., just opposite to Calcutta. After a delay of two hours at Howrah, a small steamer took me across the Hoogly, and my journey of 625 miles was at an end.

The notice I had seen in an Indian paper had not been forgotten; so engaging a cart for my traps, and a palanquin for myself, I desired the bearers to carry me to No. 1, Little Russell Street. They proceeded, not in the direction of the regular town, but to a part known as Chowringhee, between which and Government House there is a large plain. We soon arrived at a capital house, where I found every comfort prepared, and I was taken to a fine airy room, in which were several beautifully clean beds, quite a treat to behold. An excellent matron superintended all the arrangements, whilst the sick and

wounded officers were most kindly attended to by a very able surgeon, named Ligertwood. There were just fourteen wounded officers altogether at this time in the building, two besides myself being minus an arm, whilst one had lost some of his toes, and another sixteen of his teeth; one poor fellow had been shot in the stomach, and one in the neck, and several were lame from being hit in the leg. In addition to a capital dining-room, we had a large sitting-room, filled with sofas and easy chairs, the table being covered with newspapers; in fact, the authorities at Calcutta had forgotten nothing; and for only two rupees each a day, we were provided with a good breakfast, an excellent tiffin, or luncheon, and a splendid dinner. Greatly indebted did I feel to Mrs. Talbot for having so kindly sent me those Indian papers, for had I not seen the notice relative to this temporary home for disabled officers, I should have gone on my arrival at Calcutta to the hotel, and perhaps never even have heard of No. 1, Little Russell Street.

Nine of my companions left by steamer on the 10th February for Suez, *en route* for England, but other officers afterwards arrived. I was moved after a short time to a room upstairs, in which there was only one other occupant, a particularly nice youngster, named Dyce—an unposted cadet, I think, who had been attached to the Rifle Brigade at Cawnpore, and had lost the greater part of his teeth by a musket-shot through both his cheeks, in one of the fights under Windham. Notwithstanding this, he was one of the handsomest lads I ever saw, and I was not a little

grieved to hear some time back, when inquiring about him, that he was dead.


There was a nice garden round the building we occupied, and some beautiful flowers were always on the table. A second Medical Board was now, for some reason, ordered to report upon my case, and I was then told that I might start for England by the next steamer. I accordingly took my passage in the "Candia," which was to leave Calcutta on the 8th March, every berth having already been engaged for the one to sail on the 23rd February.

Great kindness was shown at Calcutta to the wounded officers, and I must especially mention Sir Charles and Lady Jackson, with whom I occasionally dined, and Mr. and Mrs. Rose, who had a residence at Garden Reach with a very pretty lawn. They were good enough to drive me out there one day in their carriage, and I spent a very pleasant afternoon amidst beautiful flowers, their four children greatly amusing me by anxious inquiries as to why I had not brought my other arm. Mr. and Mrs. Howe, with whom I also dined, were most attentive, Mrs. Howe often calling with her carriage to ask if any wounded officer would like a drive. Another very charming person that I remember was Lady Colville, whose husband, Sir James, held some high appointment. She was the prettiest woman at Calcutta. Sir Charles Jackson was one of the Judges, and seemed an active man. Not far from Calcutta were some most interesting botanical gardens, which some one kindly took me over to see. They contained one extraordinary tree, which

would have sheltered a brigade—many of the branches having again taken root.

My health and strength having been much restored, thanks to the friendly care taken of me, I was able to be present at a dance on board H.M.S. "*Chesapeake*," Commodore Rundle B. Watson, who commanded her, and who was now the senior officer on the station, being an old friend of mine, whom I had known well at the island of Mauritius. A regatta took place the same day, a superb luncheon being given by the officers of the ship, with an abundant supply of champagne, claret-cup, and ice. Although unable to dance, I greatly enjoyed looking on. About the same time I also attended a capital ball, given by the Calcutta Cricket Club on the occasion of a match played on the plain outside the town. At the latter an Oxford man handled his bat exceedingly well, but I could not learn his name. The ball was well attended, but I was told nearly all the ladies present were married. I sat down in a chair, and was much amused, as this was the first ball I had seen in India. Lady Ulick Browne struck me as the *belle* of the evening. Agreeably to my surprise, I found in the room Mrs. Pearce Taylor, wife of the eldest son of General Taylor, formerly Lieut.-Governor at Sandhurst, who was present with two very nice daughters. The cricketers gave a capital supper, with plenty of punch and champagne, under the influence of which, no doubt, other matches—to be played by two only—were proposed.

On the 18th February I received the following invitation headed, "Wedding Party:—"



“Cowar Kalle Kishun Roy presents his respectful compliments to Colonel Ewart, and requests the favour of his company to a dinner at 7½ p.m., and fireworks and nautch, on Monday, the 22nd instant, in honour of his daughter's marriage, at Rajah Budinath Roy Bahador's garden-house at Cossipore. The fireworks will commence at 8½ p.m.

“Cossipore, 18th February, 1858.”

I would have given a great deal to be able to go, but I had promised to dine on the 22nd with Sir Charles and Lady Jackson, and have always made it a rule never to break an engagement. Who my unknown friend Cowar Kalle Kishun Roy was, I never discovered, and I was much puzzled at his having found out my name. He must have been a jovial sort of native at all events, and very different from those whose acquaintance I had made at Lucknow and Cawnpore.

One great source of amusement to me at Calcutta was the bazaar, where I made many purchases, principally of fans, card-cases, and ivory chessmen; it was some little distance from Chowringhee, but I was always able to get a palanquin. My native servant frequently asked me to let him buy things for me, and I found out that it is the custom in India for the seller always in these cases to make a present. I had a great regard for Cheney, as my Madras bearer called himself, and was much amused by him one day, when going up the country from Chinsura in the bullock-wagons. It was rather warm, and I asked him if he would take something out

of my flask; suddenly, however, remembering that the natives never drink spirits or wine, I at once begged his pardon. "Oh, never mind, sir," he replied in his broken English; "me take some, me a Christian." I said nothing, but felt the quiet reproof. Sad indeed is it that soldiers and sailors—ay, and many civilians also—too often nullify all the efforts of our missionaries by an over-indulgence in intoxicating drinks.

During the month of February I received a most welcome letter from Adrian Hope, who told me that the 93rd had again crossed the Ganges, and were then about ten miles from Cawnpore, once more *en route* to Lucknow, which Sir Colin was now quite determined to capture; Lieutenant Gordon had, I found, died of fever.

Although balls and dinner-parties went on at Calcutta, I noticed that an uneasy feeling still prevailed in the minds of the European inhabitants, and one night there was a regular panic, a report having reached the town that the Barrackpore sepoy were on their way, and that the whole of the natives intended to join them and murder everybody. The doctor came into my room, and told me that he distinctly heard firing, and I sat up in my bed and listened attentively and anxiously for some time. It was a false alarm, and no rising took place; many, however, no doubt, were ready to do so, and would doubtless have taken advantage of any disaster to our army. The 19th, under Colonel Mundy, was, I think, at this time the only regiment at Calcutta, but there may have been also some artillery at Fort William.

I attended Divine Service on Sundays at the cathedral, and remember on one occasion great consternation being caused by the appearance of a poisonous snake called a cobra. Numbers of sick and wounded soldiers had been sent down from Lucknow and Cawnpore, and I found out no less than three large hospitals, quite full. Some who had lost an arm were not near so well as I now was, so I had every reason to be thankful.

CHAPTER XI.

The Overland Route—Madras—Ceylon—Aden—Suez—Alexandria—Corfu—Trieste—Venice—Vienna—Dresden—Berlin—Caröw—Cologne—Calais.

ON the 9th March I left Calcutta in the steamer "Candia," belonging to the Peninsular and Oriental Company, and on the 13th we reached Madras. Here I landed, though I found it no easy matter to do so, in consequence of the surf. It being Sunday I attended service at the cathedral, lunching afterwards with my old friend Colonel Staveley, of the 44th (now Sir Charles), when, not a little to my surprise, I found, on looking at a London newspaper, that I had become senior Major of the 93rd, by the exchange of Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel Gordon to a dépôt battalion; Lockhart Ross, who had taken substantive rank after the Crimean campaign, coming back to the regiment in his place. I felt truly sorry to lose Gordon, for whom I had a sincere regard, but his exchange placed me in a far better position as regards promotion.

As the "Candia" remained only twenty-four hours at Madras, I could see but little of the town, but it seemed a nice place. It was late on the 14th when we left, but we anchored at Point de

Galle, in the island of Ceylon, on the 16th. Getting on shore as quickly as possible, I engaged a conveyance, and took a drive into the country, coming to one excessively pretty spot, from which there was a delightful view. The natives seemed very anxious to sell precious stones to the passengers, and I purchased a few, also one or two rings, and a beautiful workbox made of an immense variety of woods, and nicely inlaid. The steamer "Ava," which left Calcutta about a month before the "Candia," had unfortunately been wrecked near Ceylon; but we were now glad to hear that a portion of the mails had been saved. The Colour I had captured at the storming of the Secunder-Bagh was, I believe, sent home by Sir Colin Campbell in this very vessel, and must have been lost, as I have never since been able to trace it. On Sir Colin's death I wrote to General Eyre (his executor) to ask if it had been found, but was told no; and I now feel satisfied that it went down in the "Ava."

On the 17th we again got under weigh, and after a pleasant passage of six days, reached Aden, in Arabia. Here the "Candia" remained for one day, for the purpose of taking in coal, so I landed, and walked up to the town, where the military are quartered, distant about three miles and a half, the first portion of the road lying near the sea. Several of my fellow-travellers mounted donkeys, but I preferred going on foot, now that I was once more strong enough to move about. It was an extraordinary-looking place, and must, I should imagine, be fearfully hot at times, being quite shut in. At this period only two companies

of the 57th, and part of a native regiment were stationed there.

After passing through the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, which I believe signifies the Gate of Tears, we entered the Red Sea, and many now began to feel exceedingly uncomfortable, a strong wind blowing right against us. Altogether there were no less than 113 first-class passengers on board the "*Candia*," besides forty-nine children, with innumerable nurses and servants, some black and some white. The squalling that went on all day was something fearful. My own cabin was shared with an American gentleman, whose name I forget. Amongst the passengers, those I remember best are Mrs. Couper (now Lady Couper); Mrs. Aitken, who was very pretty and nice; Mrs. Anderson; Mrs. Fenwick (wife, I think, of Lieut.-Colonel Fenwick, of the 10th Foot); Major Alison (now Sir Archibald); Major and Mrs. Boileau; Major North, 60th Rifles; and Paymaster Roche, of the 34th, who kindly took charge of some of my things as far as Southampton. There were, I recollect, no less than nine ladies who had been rescued at the relief of Lucknow.

But for the kindness of Alison, who like myself had lost an arm, I should have been in rather a bad way, being without a servant of any sort. He had fortunately brought one with him from India, who assisted me daily in dressing my stump.

Before leaving Aden, late news reached us from Lucknow, *via* Bombay, and we were all delighted to find that the city had been captured by Sir Colin Campbell. The 93rd, I found, had stormed the Kaiser Bagh, and it was with much sorrow

that I saw that poor little McDonald, who had acted as my subaltern at the battle of Alma, was amongst the killed, also an ensign named Sergison, a fine young man, who had joined in 1855. The rebels had apparently retreated towards Rohilcund, with Outram and Hope Grant in pursuit.

The passage down the Red Sea was interesting, as I was pointed out the spot where the Israelites were supposed to have crossed, and also got a look at some of the mountains mentioned in the Old Testament. On the 1st April we reached Suez, and late on the night of the 3rd I arrived at Alexandria, after a most fatiguing journey across the Isthmus. The railway was at this time only finished for a portion of the distance, and we had to cross a great part of the desert in an omnibus, the jolting of which was terrible, the heat being also very great. Altogether it was very trying to those who were wounded, though Mrs. Couper, a particularly charming person (sister of the present Sir Henry Every) did all in her power to assist me in every way. She was one of those shut up for so long in Lucknow, and has nevertheless since had the spirit to again reside in that city. We got a distant look at the Pyramids, but did not stop at Cairo, which I much regretted.


On embarking at Calcutta, I had taken my passage only as far as Alexandria, for which I was charged, if I remember rightly, by the Peninsular and Oriental Company the sum of 85*l*. I had hoped and thought that a free passage to England would be given to all wounded officers, but on inquiring at Calcutta, was told that I must pay

for my voyage home out of my own pocket. One or two were so angry that they applied for assistance to a fund which had been raised for the benefit of sufferers by the mutiny, and I believe were successful in obtaining a sum to pay for their passage. My own opinion was that the fund in question was only for the purpose of assisting actual residents in India, so preferred paying my own money to taking what might be intended for others. It was, however, I consider rather shabby of the Government not to grant free passages to all those obliged to return home on account of severe wounds.

At Alexandria I read some late English newspapers, and was much pleased to see that I had been appointed a Companion of the Bath. Finding on my arrival that one of the Austrian Lloyds steamers was to sail the next day for Trieste, I at once secured a berth on board, though I would gladly have seen a little more of the town. My stay was so short in Egypt that I can say but little about the country, except that most of the inhabitants seemed to ride on donkeys, and that the men wore a sort of blue night-gown.

My new fellow-passengers mustered about twenty-eight, including a very tall and soldier-like-looking general officer named Scott, who had come from Bombay, and a Colonel Paulet Cameron, who had been at one time in the Guards, and who had been employed in one or two diplomatic missions. The latter shared my cabin with me, and I found him an exceedingly well-informed and entertaining man.

We stopped for a few hours at the island of



Corfu, the town being beautifully situated. Some of the 3rd Buffs were, I think, quartered in the barracks, and I also found residing there my cousin, Sir George Douglas, formerly in the 34th, and a great traveller.

The scenery, as we afterwards coasted along Albania and Dalmatia, was very fine, the highest mountains being covered with snow. After a delightful sail up the Adriatic Sea, we arrived at Trieste on the 9th April, just five days out from Alexandria.

Instead of proceeding on immediately to Vienna, I now decided to pay a visit to Venice, a place I had always longed to see. There were two methods of getting there, one was to travel by railway *via* Udine and Treviso; the other by sea. I chose the latter, and started by steamboat at midnight, reaching Venice at half-past six, on the morning of the 10th. After engaging a room at the Hotel Vittoria, and enjoying a good breakfast, I set to work to explore this most interesting and beautiful city, first of all visiting the celebrated church of San Marco, decorated in a most curious manner, the architecture being a combination of the Oriental and Gothic. The ancient Palace of the Doges stands close by, and I was taken over every part of it, including some very horrible dungeons. I need hardly add, that I gazed for some time at the Bridge of Sighs.

A gondola now took me to the Academia delle Belle Arte, which I found filled with paintings and curiosities. Near the church of S. Maria dei Frari is situated the Scola of S. Rocco, a magnificent palace, with a marble staircase; here I had

a great treat, as it contains a superb collection of paintings by Tintoretti, the finest being one of an immense size, representing the Crucifixion.

The 11th being Sunday, I attended the English service, which took place in a house, and afterwards visited the church of the Frari, containing the beautiful monument to Canova, designed by himself, and the one to Titian (by Canova). Titian's masterpiece is in this church; and I noticed some monuments to a few of the Doges.

Colonel Cameron had kindly given me a letter of introduction to an English family named Greaves, residing at Venice, from whom I received the greatest attention, and who were good enough to ask me to dine, when I spent a most pleasant evening, the house being filled with valuable paintings. Several Austrian officers came in after dinner, one of them being Aide-de-Camp to the Archduke, who was then in command of the garrison. He mentioned that the latter, who I suppose had been in England, was most anxious to get up a match at cricket, but that they had no proper bats. It so happened that I had taken out to India two most excellent ones, and these being old favourites, I was now carefully conveying them home, to hang up, and remind me of many hard fought games. I had left them with my baggage at Trieste, and at once offered to send them to the Archduke. The Aide-de-Camp was highly delighted, and when I returned to Trieste I kept my promise, though I was not a little grieved to part with my bats; however, as I felt they could no longer be of any use to me, it seemed selfish not to assist others when in diffi-

culty; and I was consoled by the thought that I might perhaps be the means of starting the glorious game of cricket in Austria.

Much to my surprise I received a message from Field-Marshal Nugent, begging that I would call on him. Of course, I at once waited on so distinguished an officer, and had a very friendly interview. He must have been about eighty years of age, and was dressed in the Austrian uniform, with some decorations. He had a long talk about India, and he seemed much interested with the details of the mutiny, and fighting at Lucknow and Cawnpore.

At first sight the gondolas at Venice have a very gloomy appearance, as they are painted entirely black, and rather give the idea of a floating hearse; however, I soon got quite to like their dismal colour, and went "gliding" about in every direction. My kind and hospitable English friends (above mentioned) begged me to prolong my stay, but being most anxious to reach England, I was obliged to say good-bye, and on the 12th returned by steamboat to Trieste.

After despatching my bats, I started at six p.m. the same evening by railway for Gratz, where I arrived about eight o'clock the following morning. As it was snowing, and very cold, there was no inducement to remain, so after a delay of half an hour, I decided to proceed on to Vienna *via* Gloggnitz, the scenery between the latter place and Gratz being truly magnificent. The railway seemed to wind in an extraordinary manner, almost along the edge of a precipice, and after going a considerable distance, I found myself

quite close to a point I had left some time previously. A nervous lady would not have enjoyed the journey.

After travelling for twenty-four hours without being able to obtain anything beyond a small cup of coffee, I at last reached Vienna, and was most thankful to get some dinner at the Hotel Archduke Charles, where I put up.

The capital of Austria, situated on the Danube, seemed to be decidedly a pleasant place, and looks well when approached from Gratz. On the 14th I visited the cathedral, and also the church of the Capuchins. Beneath the latter repose the remains of the various members belonging to the royal family who have died, and by means of a *silver key* I descended to the vaults, with a monk, who showed me the various sarcophagi, each containing an emperor, or some other person of distinction; the tomb which interested me most being that of the great Napoleon's only son, the young Duc de Reichstadt. The streets of Vienna did not strike me as being particularly fine, but as the inhabitants were busy destroying the fortifications, which shut them in, the town has doubtless since been much improved. On the 15th I inspected a large barrack occupied by infantry, an Austrian officer most kindly explaining everything. The troops looked clean, but I had no opportunity of seeing them at drill. In the evening I left Vienna for Dresden.

This town, the capital of Saxony, is a very charming place in every way, the river Elbe running through it, and I was particularly struck by the resemblance in face of the inhabitants to the

English. The museum contains about 2000 paintings, and many days could be spent in it with pleasure and advantage. Whilst wandering about the streets I came, rather to my amusement, upon a circus, and finding there was to be a grand performance in the evening, thought I could not do better than look in. The King himself was present, together with an immense number of people, but whether they enjoyed the jokes of two capital English clowns I cannot say.

After spending three days very agreeably at Dresden I proceeded to Berlin, and after passing through a very beautiful country, known, I think, as the Saxon Switzerland, reached the Prussian capital on the 19th. Here I remained for a short time, fortunately meeting with one of my cousins, Friedrich Wartensleben, then quartered at Berlin in a Hussar regiment; he very kindly asked me to dinner, when I met several other Prussian officers.

Berlin, situated on the river Spree, is by some people considered a dull place. I found it myself quite the contrary, and was delighted with the Unter den Linden, a long street with beautiful trees, extending from the King's palace to the Brandenburg gate. Some of the buildings are exceedingly handsome, and I noticed a number of statues.

The Prussian troops seemed to be excellent, and I was much struck by their healthy appearance and powerful build.

From Berlin I travelled *via* Potsdam, a charming-looking place, to Genthin, for the purpose of paying a visit to Caröw, the seat of Count von

Wartensleben. It was late when I reached Genthin, and then found that I had a drive of several miles before me. After some delay I managed to procure a carriage and pair of horses, and did not arrive at Caröw till ten or eleven o'clock. All was quiet, and I was unfortunately not expected, as being doubtful whether I should be able to pay my respects to the Count, I had not written. Descending from my carriage, I knocked boldly at the front door, but everybody seemed to have gone to bed. The situation was not a pleasant one, but after ringing once or twice, footsteps at last approached, and the door having been partly opened, out peered the face of a German domestic, who, in reply to my inquiries if Count Wartensleben was at home, merely gazed at me with a face of astonishment, and then shut the door.

Being in light marching order, and feeling that it would be a sort of passport, I had travelled in my blue frock coat, tartan trousers, sash, and forage cap; and this, combined with the loss of my arm, and, to the servant, foreign appearance, no doubt caused a feeling of suspicion and alarm. Presently I heard voices inside, and the door having been once more opened, I called out, "I am a cousin of Count Wartensleben, and am come to see him." To my great joy, a cheery voice replied, from the top of the stairs, "I, too, am a relation of the Count's: by all means come in;" and in a few moments I received a hearty shake of the hand from Count Finck von Finckenstein, who had, in the year 1854, married Count Wartensleben's only daughter. The old Count was

soon called, and in a few minutes all was explained, and a most warm welcome accorded. We had never met before, and I was much gratified by his kind and friendly manner.

My cousin, whose family is one of the oldest in Prussia (dating from 1270), commenced his military career in the King's Hussar Regiment, in the year 1813, and before attaining the age of seventeen received the order of the Iron Cross for his distinguished bravery at the battle of Great Gorschen, fought against the French, being afterwards present at the battles of Bautzen, Dresden, Arcis, Brienne, and Paris, for which he was presented with the Iron Cross of the second class and the order of St. Wladimir, also receiving the Russian order of St. George. He was subsequently appointed Adjutant to the Division of the Guards commanded by the Prince of Prussia, and accompanied his Royal Highness on several pleasant journeys to the Courts of Weimar, Holland, Meiningen, Fulda, and Mecklenburg, being also present at the Prince's marriage in 1829, after which he continued on his staff at Potsdam. On the death of his father (my great uncle), also a most distinguished officer, in the year 1833, he succeeded to the family estates; and these being very extensive, he was compelled to retire from active service, receiving before doing so the order of St. John, and, some time afterwards, that of the Red Eagle.

The day after my arrival at Caröw was my cousin's birthday, and his third son, Gustav, an officer in the White Cuirassiers, arrived, with other relatives, to offer their congratulations. It is the

custom in Prussia to arrange all the birthday presents on a table, and to light as many candles as the happy individual is years old. On this occasion the number was sixty-two. My cousin has now attained the age of eighty-four, and he tells me in his last letter that he has dispensed with candles.

Count Wartensleben's eldest son, Herrmann, now a Major-General, was originally in a Uhlan regiment, but afterwards joined the 7th Cuirassiers. He received a sword of honour for his exertions at the Military School at Berlin, and was for some time Adjutant to General von Koch. He is married to the eldest daughter of General Podbielski, Inspector-General of the Prussian artillery, and is just now engaged in writing the official history of the late war with France, in which he took part. The second son, Ludwig, was at one time in the 4th Hussars.

Gustav, the third son, who as I have mentioned, belonged at this time to a Cuirassier regiment, married, in the year 1858, Bertha, Baroness of Schulenburg Priemern.

Alexander, the fourth son, was appointed Ensign in the 1st Foot Guards in 1850, and in 1855 became Adjutant to his battalion, being for some time in attendance on Prince Frederick William. He married at Potsdam, in the year 1856, Mathilde, daughter of Major-General Count Albert, of Blumenthal.

The fifth and youngest son, Friedrich, joined the 3rd Hussars, and obtained his lieutenancy in 1852.

My visit was a most pleasant one in every way,

the Countess von Wartensleben, who was a daughter of Charles Frederick von Goldbeck, of Blumenberg, being a most charming person. I was taken over the neighbouring village, and saw as much of my cousin's estate as I could; he also pointed out to me the family mausoleum. On going over the house I noticed a very large painting, representing a group of the Von Printzens, and on my telling the Count that we had that very picture at home, he replied, "Well then, you have one that we have lost sight of for a very long time, and this is only a copy of it." My grandmother, whose mother was a Printzen, must therefore have carried it off from Caröw when she married; it now hangs in my hall, and completely fills one side of it.

I had not the good fortune when in Prussia to fall in with any of my other cousins, the Alvenslebens, but I have since had the pleasure of meeting two of them, one a Colonel, the other, a very fine young fellow, in the Guards, who lately married a daughter of Major-General Beauchamp Walker, C.B., Military Attaché at Berlin; his brother was unfortunately killed at the battle of Sedan; and I believe I had altogether no less than fourteen relatives fighting in the late war against the French.

On leaving Caröw I took the train from Genthin and travelled to Cologne, which I thought from the name would prove a delightful place to halt at. Alas! I found myself grievously mistaken, for instead of the delicious perfume of the water which bears its name, the most abominable smells were to be met with, and I soon took

flight, first of all visiting the cathedral, which is superb, though, as usual, it was under repair.

From Cologne I went on to Aix-la-Chapelle, where I remained one night, afterwards proceeding on, *via* Lille, to Calais, when I at once crossed the Channel. The steamboat started about eleven p.m., and I never remember a more lovely night, the sea being as smooth as glass. It must have been about one a.m., when I reached Dover, and I was then fortunately able to get a room at the Lord Warden Hotel.

During the suppression of the Indian Mutiny in the years 1857 and 1858, the loss of the 93rd Highlanders was as follows :—

Killed in action	4 officers, 42 men.
Died of wounds	1 " 36 "
Died of disease.....	1 " 83 "
Invalided	5 " 51 "
Total.....	11 212

The number of wounded I am unable to state.

CHAPTER XII.

Sir Colin Campbell's Despatches.

RELIEF OF LUCKNOW.

General Order by the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council.

Fort William, Dec. 10, 1857.

THE Governor-General in Council directs that the accompanying despatches from the Commander-in-Chief, which reached the Government of India last night, be at once published in general orders.

These despatches declare the signal defeat of the rebels in the city of Lucknow, and the completely successful rescue of the women and children, sick and wounded, together with their heroic defenders, from the long-beleaguered Residency.

Of the military operations described in them the Governor-General in Council will not presume to speak. They are explained fully and clearly, and every sentence bears proof of their having been guided by a master-hand, and of that unbounded mutual confidence between the soldiers and their Commander, which, as it is the growth of past dangers and triumphs shared in common, so it is the assurance of victories yet to come.

Most heartily does the Governor-General in

Council congratulate the Commander-in-Chief and his brave companions in arms upon the first fruits of their brilliant achievement. To have been the instruments through which, by God's blessing, the inmates of the Lucknow Residency have, in the face of extraordinary difficulties, and in the presence of a numerous enemy, been snatched from danger and placed in security, will be a life-long source of pride and satisfaction to every man who has had part in the work.

To General Sir C. Campbell, G.C.B., the fearless, skilled, and sound-judging leader in this anxious enterprise, his country owes a new debt of gratitude. In the name of the Government of India the Governor-General in Council desires to record his deep obligations to his Excellency.

The Governor-General in Council offers his most cordial thanks to Major-General Mansfield, Chief of the Staff, to whose ability and experience the Commander-in-Chief expresses himself so deeply indebted for the most valuable assistance throughout these operations.

To Brigadier-General H. Grant, C.B., who immediately commanded the division employed, his Lordship in Council tenders his warm acknowledgments, for the very admirable manner in which he performed the arduous duties of his command. This well-tried officer had already greatly distinguished himself in the operations before Delhi, and has received the public thanks of Government.

The Governor-General in Council recognizes with great satisfaction the conspicuously gallant

conduct of Brigadier the Hon. A. Hope, 93rd Highlanders, who is repeatedly brought to notice in these despatches.

To Captain Peel, C.B., R.N., whose exemplary coolness and energetic courage are so prominently mentioned by the Commander-in-Chief, the most sincere thanks of Government are offered. To no officer are they more eminently due.

The officers commanding brigades and regiments have merited the acknowledgments of the Governor-General in Council, and he has much satisfaction in thus tendering his thanks to Brigadier Crawford, R.A., commanding Artillery; to Brigadier Little, 9th Lancers, commanding Cavalry; to Brigadier Greathed, H.M.'s 8th Regiment, who having, in a series of important successes, led a column of troops from Delhi, after the capture of that city, to Cawnpore, has now further distinguished himself in the relief of Lucknow; to Brigadier Russell, 84th Foot, who was severely wounded while commanding 3rd Infantry Brigade; to Lieutenant Lennox, Royal Engineers, Acting Chief Engineer; to Lieutenant Vaughan, R.A., who served with Naval Brigade; to Major Turner, commanding Bengal Artillery, in whose praise the Commander-in-Chief has so warmly expressed himself; to Captain Travers, commanding Royal Artillery; to Captains Remington and Blunt, commanding troops of Bengal Horse Artillery; and Captain Maxwell, artillery attached to Naval Brigade; to Captains Middleton, R.A., and Bouchier, Bengal Artillery, who so ably commanded field batteries; and to Captain Longden, R.A., commanding the mortar battery.

The Governor-General in Council cordially concurs with the Commander-in-Chief in the eulogy bestowed by his Excellency on the Royal Artillery and on that of Bengal and Madras, who emulated one another, and were alike distinguished in rendering the most conspicuous and important services in these memorable operations.

His Lordship in Council offers his thanks to Lieutenants Walker, Bengal Artillery; Ford and Brown, Royal Artillery, who commanded batteries; to Lieutenant Bridge, who ably commanded the guns of the Madras Horse Artillery; to Lieutenant Scott, Madras Engineers, in command of Sappers and Miners.

The thanks of Government are also due to Major Ouvry, commanding 9th Lancers; to Major Robertson, commanding Military Train; to Lieutenant-Colonels Wells, commanding 23rd Fusiliers; Gordon, 93rd Highlanders, in temporary command H.M.'s 53rd Regiment; Hale, commanding H.M.'s 82nd-Regiment; Leith-Hay, commanding 93rd Highlanders; Hamilton, commanding 78th Highlanders, and who led the 1st battalion of detachments; and to Major Barnston, H.M.'s 90th Foot, commanding 2nd battalion of detachments, whose services, together with those of the other officers commanding corps named above, are repeatedly brought to the favourable notice of Government, and who, it is observed with great regret, was dangerously wounded.

The Governor-General in Council has to regret the loss of Captain Hardy, who commanded the heavy field-battery of Royal Artillery.

His Lordship in Council acknowledges the

merits of Lieutenants Watson, Probyn, Young-husband, and Gough, commanding detachments of Punjaub Cavalry and Hodson's Horse; of Captain Green, commanding 2nd Punjaub Infantry; of Lieutenant Willoughby, 4th Punjaub Infantry; of Lieutenant Ryves, who commanded the same corps towards the conclusion of the operations; of Major Milman, 5th Fusiliers; and Lieut.-Colonel M'Intyre, 78th Highlanders, who commanded detachments conspicuously; of Lieut.-Colonel Ewart, 93rd Highlanders, who commanded at the barracks; of Captains Dawson, 93rd Highlanders; Rolleston, 84th Foot; and Hopkins, 53rd Regiment; and of Lieutenants Fisher and Powlett, 2nd Punjaub Infantry—all of whom bravely and effectively commanded separate detachments or posts.

To Captain Norman, Assistant-Adjutant-General of the Army, the Commander-in-Chief has recorded his warm acknowledgments, and the Governor-General in Council cordially concurs in recognizing the highly-distinguished services rendered, not for the first time, by this officer.

The Governor-General in Council offers his thanks to Colonel Berkeley, H.M.'s 32nd Foot; to Major Alison, Military Secretary to Commander-in-Chief (very severely wounded); to Captain Sir David Baird, Bart., Aide-de-Camp; and to Lieutenant H. Johnstone, Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant-General to the Chief of the Staff.

His Lordship in Council has also to thank Lieutenant Algood, Deputy-Assistant-Quartermaster-General; Captains Maycock and Carey of the same department; Captain Rudman, of Adjutant-

General's department, H.M.'s Forces; Captain Hatch, Deputy-Judge-Advocate-General; Captains Alison and Forster, Aides-de-Camp to Commander-in-Chief; Captain Metcalfe and Lieutenant Murray, on his Excellency's personal Staff; Captain Cox, 75th Foot, Brigade-Major; Lieutenant Roberts, Bengal Artillery, Deputy-Assistant-Quartermaster-General; Captain Hamilton, 9th Lancers, Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant-General; Captain the Hon. A. H. Anson, H.M.'s 84th, Aide-de-Camp; and Lieutenant Salmond, 7th Light Cavalry, acting Aide-de-Camp to Brigadier-General Grant; Captain Hammond, Bengal Artillery, Brigade-Major of Artillery (who was severely wounded); Captain H. le G. Bruce, Brevet-Major Barry, and Lieutenant Bunny, Staff Officers of Royal and Bengal Artillery; Lieutenant Watson, Bengal Engineers, Brigade-Major of Engineers; Captain Sarel, 17th Lancers, Brigade-Major of Cavalry; and Captains Bannatyne, 8th Foot, and Lightfoot, 84th Foot, Brigade-Majors of Infantry; as well as Lieutenant P. Stewart, Bengal Engineers, Superintendent of Electric Telegraph, whom the Commander-in-Chief mentions with much praise.

The acknowledgments of Government are also due to Captain Dickens, Commissariat Department, and to Lieutenant T. Brown, Ordnance Commissary, who have rendered distinguished service, and given much satisfaction to the Commander-in-Chief in the discharge of their duties.

Of the services of Surgeon J. C. Brown, attached to Bengal Artillery, since become

Superintendent Surgeon, his Excellency speaks in high terms; and it gives satisfaction to the Governor-General in Council to acknowledge this officer's merit.

His Lordship in Council has to record with much regret the death of Colonel Biddulph, 45th Bengal Native Infantry, to whose conduct the Commander-in-Chief bears testimony.

The Commander-in-Chief speaks in high terms of the daring conduct of Lord Seymour, who, as a volunteer, joined the Commander-in-Chief, and was present throughout the operations before Lucknow. The thanks of the Governor-General in Council are due to Lord Seymour for the good service which he has freely rendered.

His Excellency mentions with just appreciation the valuable aid which he received from Mr. Kavenagh, of the Uncovenanted Civil Service; and the Governor-General in Council offers his special thanks to Mr. Kavenagh, whose conduct will be borne in mind by Government.

To the brave and indomitable troops of all arms, who took part in the glorious operations described by the Commander-in-Chief, and to their comrades of the Naval Brigade, unsurpassed in gallantry and devotion to their duty, the Governor-General in Council cordially offers the tribute of his warmest acknowledgments. Under their honoured leader they have achieved signal success, and it will be the first care of the Governor-General in Council to bring to the favourable notice of the Government and of the Court of Directors the important services and high deserts of General Sir C. Campbell, G.C.B., and of the

officers and men who have borne part in the last operations at Lucknow.

R. J. H. BIRCH, Colonel,
Military Secretary to the Govern-
ment of India.

The Commander-in-Chief to the Governor-General.

Headquarters, Shah Nujjeef, Lucknow,
Nov. 18, 1857.

My Lord,—I have the honour to apprise your Lordship, that I left Cawnpore on November 9th, and joined the troops under command of Brigadier-General Hope Grant, C.B., the same day, at Camp Buntara, about six miles from the Alumbagh.

There being a few detachments on the road, I deemed it expedient to wait till the 12th before commencing my advance.

On that day I marched early for the Alumbagh with the troops named in the margin.¹

The advance guard was attacked by two guns and a body of about 2000 infantry. After a smart skirmish, the guns were taken; Lieutenant Gough, commanding Hodson's Irregular Horse, having distinguished himself very much in a brilliant charge by which this object was effected.

The camp was pitched on that evening at the Alumbagh. This place I found to be annoyed to

¹ Naval Brigade, eight heavy guns; Bengal Horse Artillery, ten guns; Bengal Horse field-battery, six guns; heavy field-battery, Royal Artillery; detachments Bengal and Punjaub Sappers and Miners; H.M.'s 9th Lancers; detachments 1st, 2nd, and 5th Punjaub Cavalry and Hodson's Horse; H.M.'s 8th, 53rd, 75th, and 93rd Regiments of Infantry; 2nd and 4th Punjaub Infantry; probable total, 700 cavalry, 2700 infantry.

a certain extent by guns placed in different positions in the neighbourhood.

I caused the post to be cleared of lumber and cattle, and placed all my tents in it.

I made my arrangements for marching without baggage when I should reach the park of Dilkoosha, and the men were directed to have three days' food in their haversacks. I changed the garrison at the Alumbagh, taking fresh men from it, and leaving H.M.'s 75th Regiment there, which had been so much harassed by its late exertions.

On the 14th, I expected a further reinforcement of 600 or 700 men, composed as per margin,² who joined my rear guard after my march had commenced in the morning of that day.

As I approached the park of Dilkoosha, the leading troops were met by a long line of musketry fire.

The advanced guard was quickly reinforced by a field battery and more infantry, composed of companies of H.M.'s 5th, 64th, and 78th Foot, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, H.M.'s 79th Highlanders, supported by 8th Foot. After a running fight of about two hours, in which our loss was very inconsiderable, the enemy was driven down the hill to the Martinière, across the garden and park of the Martinière, and far beyond the canal.

His loss was trifling, owing to the suddenness of the retreat.

² Detachments joined on and up to the 14th:—Two guns Madras Horse Artillery, reserve Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers, Military Train, headquarters H.M.'s 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, detachment of H.M.'s 82nd Infantry.

The Dilkoosha and Martinière were both occupied, Brigadier Hope's Brigade being then brought up, and arranged in position in the wood of the Martinière at the end opposite the canal, being flanked to the left by Captain Bouchier's field battery and two of Captain Peel's heavy guns.

Shortly after these arrangements had been made, the enemy drew out a good many people and attacked our position in front.

He was quickly driven off, some of our troops crossing the canal in pursuit.

On this occasion the 53rd, 93rd, and a body of the 4th Punjaub Sikhs, distinguished themselves.

Two very promising young officers lost their lives—Lieutenant Mayne, Bengal Horse Artillery, Quartermaster-General's Department, and Captain Wheatcroft, Carabineers, doing duty with H.M.'s 9th Lancers.

All the troops behaved very well.

With the exception of my tents, all my heavy baggage, including provisions for fourteen days for my own force and that in Lucknow, accompanied me on my march across country to Dilkoosha, covered by a strong rear guard under Lieutenant-Colonel Ewart, H.M.'s 93rd Highlanders. This officer distinguished himself very much in this difficult command; his artillery, under Captain Blunt, Bengal Horse Artillery, assisted by the Royal Artillery under Colonel Crawford, R.A., having been in action for the greater part of the day.

The rear guard did not close up to the column

until late next day, the enemy having hung on it until dark on the 14th.

Every description of baggage having been left at Dilkoosha, which was occupied by H.M.'s 8th Regiment, I advanced direct on the Secunderbagh early on the 16th.

This place is a high-walled inclosure of strong masonry, of 120 yards square, and was carefully loopholed all round. It was held very strongly by the enemy. Opposite to it was a village at a distance of a hundred yards, which was also loopholed and filled with men.

On the head of the column advancing up the lane to the left of the Secunderbagh, fire was opened on us. The infantry of the advance guard was quickly thrown in skirmishing order to line a bank to the right.

The guns were pushed rapidly onwards, viz. Captain Blunt's troop Bengal Horse Artillery, and Captain Travers' Royal Artillery, heavy field-battery.

The troop passed at a gallop through a cross fire from the village and Secunderbagh, and opened fire within easy musketry range in a most daring manner.

As soon as they could be pushed up a stiff bank, two 18-pounder guns, under Captain Travers, were also brought to bear on the building.

Whilst this was being effected, the leading brigade of infantry, under Brigadier the Hon. A. Hope, coming rapidly into action, caused the loopholed village to be abandoned, the whole fire of the brigade being then directed on the Secunderbagh.

After a time a large body of the enemy, who were holding ground to the left of our advance, were driven by parties of the 53rd and 93rd, two of Captain Blunt's guns aiding the movement.

The Highlanders pursued their advantage, and seized the barracks, and immediately converted it into a military post, the 53rd stretching in a long line of skirmishers in the open plain and driving the enemy before them.

The attack on the Secunderbagh had now been proceeding for about an hour and a half, when it was determined to take the place by storm through a small opening which had been made. This was done in the most brilliant manner by the remainder of the Highlanders, and the 53rd and the 4th Punjaub Infantry, supported by a battalion of detachments under Major Barnston.

There never was a bolder feat of arms, and the loss inflicted on the enemy, after the entrance of the Secunderbagh was effected, was immense; more than 2000 of the enemy were afterwards carried out.

The officers who led these regiments were Lieutenant-Colonel Leith-Hay, H.M.'s 93rd Highlanders; Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, H.M.'s 93rd Highlanders; Captain Walton, H.M.'s 53rd Foot; Lieutenant Paul, 4th Punjaub Infantry (since dead); and Major Barnston, H.M.'s 90th Foot.


Captain Peel's Royal Naval Siege Train then went to the front and advanced towards the Shah Nujjeef, together with the field battery and some mortars, the village to the left having been cleared by Brigadier Hope and Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon.

The Shah Nujjeef is a domed mosque with a garden, of which the most had been made by the enemy. The wall of the inclosure of the mosque was loopholed with great care. The entrance to it had been covered by a regular work in masonry, and the top of the building was crowned with a parapet. From this, and from the defences in the garden, an unceasing fire of musketry was kept up from the commencement of the attack.

This position was defended with great resolution against a heavy cannonade of three hours. It was then stormed in the boldest manner by the 93rd Highlanders under Brigadier Hope, supported by a battalion of detachments under Major Barnston, who was, I regret to say, severely wounded; Captain Peel leading up his heavy guns with extraordinary gallantry, within a few yards of the building, to batter the massive stone walls. The withering fire of the Highlanders effectually covered the Naval Brigade from great loss; but it was an action almost unexampled in war. Captain Peel behaved very much as if he had been laying the "Shannon" alongside an enemy's frigate.

This brought the day's operation to a close.

On the next day, communications were opened to the left rear of the barracks to the canal, after overcoming considerable difficulty. Captain Peel kept up a steady cannonade on the building called the mess-house. This building, of considerable size, was defended by a ditch about twelve feet broad and scarped with masonry, and beyond that a loopholed mud wall. I determined to use the guns as much as possible in taking it.



About three p.m., when it was considered that men might be sent to storm it without much risk, it was taken by a company of 90th Foot under Captain Wolseley, and a picket of H.M.'s 53rd under Captain Hopkins, supported by Major Barnston's battalion of detachments under Captain Guise, H.M.'s 90th Foot, and some of the Punjaub Infantry under Lieutenant Powlett. The mess-house was carried immediately with a rush.

The troops then pressed forward with great vigour, and lined the wall separating the mess-house from the Moti Mahal, which consists of a wide inclosure and many buildings. The enemy here made a last stand, which was overcome after an hour, openings having been broken in the wall, through which the troops poured, with a body of sappers, and accomplished our communications with the Residency.

I had the inexpressible satisfaction, shortly afterwards, of greeting Sir J. Outram and Sir H. Havelock, who came out to meet me before the action was at an end.

The relief of the besieged garrison had been accomplished.

The troops, including all ranks of officers and men, had worked strenuously and persevered boldly in following up the advantages gained in the various attacks. Every man in the force had exerted himself to the utmost, and now met with his reward.

It should not be forgotten that these exertions did not date merely from the day that I joined the camp; the various bodies of which the relieving force was composed having made the longest

forced marches, from various directions to enable the Government of India to save the garrison of Lucknow—some from Agra, some from Allahabad; all had alike undergone the same fatigues in pressing forward for the attainment of this great object. Of their conduct in the field of battle the facts narrated in this despatch are sufficient evidence, which I will not weaken by any eulogy of mine.

I desire now to direct the attention of your Lordship to the merits of the officers who have served under my orders on this occasion.

I cannot convey to your Lordship, in adequate terms, my deep sense of the obligations I am under to Major-General Mansfield, Chief of the Staff, for the very able and cordial assistance he has afforded me and the service during these operations, and how admirably the very many and important duties belonging to his situation have been performed, for which his high talents and experience of service in this country so peculiarly fit him.

I have also to express my very particular acknowledgments to Brigadier-General Hope Grant, C.B., who was in immediate command of the division by which this service was effected. His activity in carrying out the details has been admirable, and his vigilance in superintending the outpost duties has been unsurpassed.

My thanks are peculiarly due to Brigadier the Hon. Adrian Hope, who commanded the advance of the force; as also to Captain Peel, C.B., R.N., who has distinguished himself in a most marked manner.

I desire to bring to the favourable notice of your Lordship the officers commanding brigades and regiments, and those who have been in the performance of Staff duties, or who have been marked out by brigadiers.

Brigadier Crawford, R.A., commanding the Artillery; Brigadier Little, commanding the Cavalry; Brigadier Greathed, commanding 3rd Infantry Brigade; Brigadier Russell, commanding 5th Infantry Brigade (severely wounded).

Lieutenant Lennox, Royal Engineers, Acting Chief Engineer.

Lieutenant Vaughan, R.N., and Captain Maxwell, Bengal Artillery, attached to the Naval Brigade.

Major Turner, commanding Bengal Artillery (to this officer my most particular acknowledgments are due—he has few equals as an artillery officer).

Captain Travers, commanding Royal Artillery.

Captains Remington and Blunt, commanding troops of Bengal Horse Artillery.

Captains Middleton, Royal Artillery, and Bouchier, Bengal Artillery, commanding horse field-battery, and Longden, Royal Artillery, commanding the mortar battery.

It is impossible to draw a distinction between any of these officers. They all distinguished themselves under very arduous circumstances, and it was highly agreeable to me to be present on this first occasion when the Bengal and Royal Artillery were brought into action together, under my own eyes. I wish also to mention Lieutenant

Walker, Bengal Artillery, in command of a demi-field-battery; Lieutenants Ford and Brown, who successively took up the command of the heavy field-battery of Royal Artillery under Captain Hardy, on the death of that lamented officer; and Lieutenant Bridge, who commanded two guns of the Madras Horse Artillery with great ability.

I have, further, to bring to your Lordship's notice Lieutenant Scott, Madras Engineers, who commanded the Sappers and Miners.

I would also bring to favourable notice the following officers in command of corps or detachments:—

Major Ouvry, H.M.'s 9th Lancers; Major Robertson, Military Train; Captain Hinde, H.M.'s 8th Regiment; Lieutenant-Colonel Wells, 23rd Fusiliers; Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, 93rd Highlanders, in temporary command H.M.'s 53rd Regiment; Lieutenant-Colonel Hale, H.M.'s 82nd Regiment; Lieutenant-Colonel L. Hay, 93rd Highlanders; Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, 78th Highlanders, commanding 1st battalion of detachments; Major Barnston, H.M.'s 90th Regiment, commanding 2nd battalion of detachments (dangerously wounded); and Captain Guise, H.M.'s 90th Regiment, who succeeded Major Barnston in his command.

Lieutenants Watson, Probyn, Younghusband, and Gough, respectively commanding detachments of the 1st, 2nd, and 5th Punjaub Cavalry and Hodson's Horse; Captain Green, commanding 2nd Punjaub Infantry; Lieutenant Willoughby, who succeeded to the command of the 4th Punjaub

Infantry, on his three seniors in the corps being severely wounded; Lieutenant Ryves, who commanded 4th Punjaub Infantry from the evening of the 16th; Major Milman, 5th Fusiliers; and Lieutenant-Colonel M'Intyre, 78th Highlanders, in command of detachments employed in the advance on Dilkoosha and the Martinière; Lieutenant-Colonel Ewart, 93rd Highlanders, who commanded at the barracks; Captains Dawson, 93rd Highlanders, Rolleston, H.M.'s 84th Regiment, and Hopkins, 53rd Regiment; and Lieutenants Fisher and Powlett, 2nd Punjaub Infantry, who commanded separate detachments or posts, and whose services have, for the most part, been noted in the body of the despatch.

It remains for me to express my high sense of the services performed by the Assistant-Adjutant-General of the army, Captain Norman, who, on this, as on every other occasion, highly distinguished himself.

I have further to express my warm thanks to all the officers serving on the general and personal Staff of myself and Major-General Mansfield, as named below: but especially to Colonel Berkeley, H.M.'s 32nd Regiment, who attended the Chief of the Staff in the field, and who displayed remarkable activity and intelligence; to Major Alison, Military Secretary (who unfortunately lost his arm); to Captain Sir D. Baird, Bart., my first Aide-de-Camp, and to Lieutenant H. Johnstone, Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant-General to the Chief of the Staff.

The remaining officers of this Staff were Lieutenant G. Algood, Deputy-Assistant-Quarter-

master-General; Captains Maycock and Carey, Officiating Deputy-Assistants-Quartermaster-General; Captain Rudman, Acting-Assistant-Adjutant-General H.M.'s forces; Captain Hatch, Deputy-Judge-Advocate-General; Captains Alison and Forster, my Aides-de-Camp; Captain Metcalfe, Interpreter; and Lieutenant Murray, Aide-de-Camp to the Chief of the Staff.

Mr. Kavenagh, of the Uncovenanted Civil Service, who came out from Lucknow in disguise to afford me information, at the imminent risk of his life, has won my most especial thanks, and I recommend him most cordially to the notice of your Lordship.

Lord Seymour was present throughout these operations, and displayed a daring gallantry at a most critical moment.

I concur most fully in the commendations that have been bestowed by General Grant and officers commanding brigades on their respective Staffs as named below; but I would especially draw attention to the services of Captain Cox, H.M.'s 75th Regiment, Brigade-Major of 4th Brigade; and Lieutenant Roberts, Bengal Artillery, Deputy-Assistant-Quartermaster-General; Captain W. Hamilton, H.M.'s 9th Lancers, Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant-General; Captain the Hon. A. H. Anson, H.M.'s 84th Regiment, Aide-de-Camp; and Lieutenant Salmond, 7th Light Cavalry, Acting Aide-de-Camp to Brigadier-General Grant.

Captain H. Hammond, Bengal Artillery, Brigade-Major of Artillery (severely wounded); Captain H. le G. Bruce, Bengal Artillery, who succeeded Captain Hammond; Brevet-Major W.



Barry and Lieutenant A. Bunny, Staff officers of Royal and Bengal Artillery respectively; Lieutenant G. E. Watson, Bengal Engineers, Brigade-Major of Engineers; Captain H. A. Sarel, 17th Lancers, Brigade-Major of Cavalry; and Captains Bannatyne, H.M.'s 8th Foot, and Lightfoot, 84th Foot, Brigade-Majors of the 3rd and 5th Brigades; also Lieutenant P. Stewart, Bengal Engineers, Superintendent of the Electric Telegraph, who accompanied the force, and made himself particularly useful throughout.

Captain A. D. Dickens, Deputy-Assistant-Commissary-General, and Lieutenant W. Tod Brown, Deputy-Commissary of Ordnance, have both distinguished themselves exceedingly in carrying on the intricate duties of their departments, with very scanty establishments to meet the great demands upon them.

Brigadier-General Grant has made favourable mention of Surgeon J. C. Brown, M.D., Bengal Horse Artillery, whose great exertions have been deserving of all praise. He has since become Superintending Surgeon of the force.

The number of officers mentioned in this despatch may appear large; but the force employed was composed of many detachments, and the particular service was calculated to draw forth the individual qualities of the officers engaged.

EVACUATION OF LUCKNOW.

Headquarters, Camp, Alumbagh, Nov. 25, 1857.

My Lord,—In continuation of my report of the 18th, I have the honour to apprise your Lordship,

that the left rear of my position was finally secured on the night of the 17th inst., by the building called Banks' House having been seized by a party of the 2nd Punjaub Infantry (Sikhs) specially employed for that purpose.

Brigadier Russell and Lieutenant-Colonel Hale distinguished themselves much in completing the chain of posts on the 17th and 18th in that direction; the enemy having been very vigilant on that point, and kept up an unceasing fire on all the buildings occupied by Brigadier Russell, and on the barrack occupied by 300 of the Highlanders under Lieutenant-Colonel Ewart.

Brigadier Russell having been, unfortunately, severely wounded on the afternoon of the 8th instant, I placed the lamented Colonel Biddulph in command of his line of posts. He was killed almost immediately afterwards, when making his dispositions for the attack of the hospital.

Captain Bouchier, of Bengal Artillery, distinguished himself by the intelligent and able support he afforded Lieutenant-Colonel Hale, H.M.'s 82nd Foot, on that officer succeeding Colonel Biddulph.

These very difficult and tedious operations, conducted, as they were, under a most galling fire in cramped suburbs, reflect much credit on all the officers and men concerned, and secured the position.

The same afternoon the enemy made a smart attack on the pickets covering the centre of the line.

I supported them with a company of H.M.'s 23rd and another of H.M.'s 53rd Foot, not having any more infantry at my disposal.

Captain Remmington's troop Horse Artillery was brought up, and dashed right into the jungle with the leading skirmishers, and opened fire with extraordinary rapidity and precision.

Captain Remmington distinguished himself very much.

I superintended this affair myself, and I have particular pleasure in drawing your Lordship's attention to the conduct of this troop on this occasion, as an instance of the never-failing readiness and quickness of the Horse Artillery of the Bengal service.

During the next three days, I continued to hold the whole of the country from the Dilkoosha to the gates of the Residency, the left flank having been secured in the manner above mentioned, with a view to extricating the garrison, without exposing it to the chance of even a stray musket-shot.

From the first, all the arrangements have been conducted towards this end. The whole of the force under my immediate command being one outlying picket, every man remained on duty, and was constantly subject to annoyance from the enemy's fire; but such was the vigilance and intelligence of the force, and so heartily did all ranks co-operate to support me, that I was enabled to conduct this affair to a happy issue exactly in the manner originally proposed.

Upon the 20th, fire was opened on the Kaiserbagh, which gradually increased in importance, till it assumed the character of regular breaching and bombardment.

The Kaiserbagh was breached in three places

by Captain Peel, R.N., and I have been told that the enemy suffered much loss within its precincts. Having thus led the enemy to believe that immediate assault was contemplated, orders were issued for the retreat of the garrison through the lines of our pickets, at midnight on the 22nd.

The ladies and families, the wounded, the treasure, the guns it was thought worth while to keep; the ordnance stores, the grain still possessed by the Commissariat of the garrison, and the state prisoners, had all been previously removed.

Sir James Outram had received orders to burst the guns which it was thought undesirable to take away; and he was finally directed silently to evacuate the Residency of Lucknow at the hour indicated.

The dispositions to cover their retreat and to resist the enemy, should he pursue, were ably carried out by Brigadier the Hon. A. Hope; but I am happy to say the enemy was completely deceived, and he did not attempt to follow. On the contrary, he began firing on our old positions, many hours after we had left them. The movement of retreat was admirably executed, and was a perfect lesson in such combinations.

Each exterior line came gradually retiring through its supports, till at length nothing remained but the last line of infantry and guns, with which I was myself to crush the enemy if he had dared to follow up the pickets.

The only line of retreat lay through a long and tortuous lane, and all these precautions were absolutely necessary to ensure the safety of the force.

The extreme posts on the left, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hale, H.M.'s 82nd; Lieutenant-Colonel Wells, H.M.'s 23rd Foot; and Lieutenant-Colonel Ewart, H.M.'s 93rd Highlanders, made their way by a road which had been explored for them, after I considered that the time had arrived, with due regard to the security of the whole, that their posts should be evacuated.

It was my endeavour that nothing should be left to chance, and the conduct of the officers in exactly carrying out their instructions was beyond all praise.

During all these operations, from the 16th instant, the remnant of Brigadier Greathed's Brigade closed in the rear, and now again formed the rear guard as we retired to Dilkoosha.

Dilkoosha was reached at four a.m. on the 23rd instant, by the whole force.

I must not forget to mention the exertions of the cavalry during all the operations which have been described.

The exertions of Brigadier Little and of Major Ouvry, respectively of the Cavalry Brigade and the 9th Lancers, were unceasing in keeping up our long line of communications, and preserving our extreme rear beyond the Dilkoosha, which was constantly threatened.

On the 22nd the enemy attacked at Dilkoosha, but was speedily driven off under Brigadier Little's orders.

The officers commanding the Irregular Cavalry, Lieutenants Watson, Younghusband, Probyn, and Gough, as well as all the officers of the 9th Lancers, were never out of the saddle during all

the time, and well maintained the character they had won throughout the war.

I moved with General Grant's Division to the Alumbagh on the afternoon of the 24th, leaving Sir J. Outram's Division in position at Dilkoosha, to prevent molestation of the immense convoy of the women and wounded, which it was necessary to transport with us. Sir J. Outram closed up this day, without annoyance from the enemy.

(Signed) C. CAMPBELL, General,
Commander-in-Chief.

By the Commander-in-Chief.

Headquarters, Shah Nujeeff, Lucknow,
Nov. 21, 1857.

Although the Commander-in-Chief has not yet had time to peruse the detailed report of Brigadier Inglis respecting the defence made by the slender garrison under his command, his Excellency desires to lose no time in recording his opinion of the magnificent defence made by the remnant of a British regiment (H.M.'s 32nd), a company of British artillery, and a few hundred Sepoys, whose very presence was a subject of distrust, against all the force of Oude, until the arrival of the reinforcement under Major-Generals Sir J. Outram, G.C.B., and Sir H. Havelock, K.C.B.

2. The persevering constancy of this small garrison, under the watchful command of the Brigadier, has, under Providence, been the means of adding to the *prestige* of the British army, and

of preserving the honour and lives of our country-women.

There can be no greater reward than such a reflection; and the Commander-in-Chief heartily congratulates Brigadier Inglis and his devoted garrison on that reflection belonging to them.

3. The position occupied by the garrison was an open intrenchment, the numbers were not sufficient to man the defences, and the supply of artillerymen for the guns was most inadequate. In spite of these difficult circumstances, the Brigadier and his garrison held on; and it will be a great pleasure to the Commander-in-Chief to bring to the notice of the Government of India the names of all the officers and soldiers who have distinguished themselves during the great trial to which they have been exposed.

4. The Commander-in-Chief congratulates Sir J. Outram and Sir H. Havelock on having been the first to aid Brigadier Inglis.

The Governor-General in Council has already expressed his opinion on the splendid feat of arms by which that aid was accomplished.

Headquarters, Shah Nujeef, Nov. 22, 1857.

When the Commander-in-Chief issued his order of yesterday, with regard to the old garrison of Lucknow, his Excellency was unaware of the important part taken in aid of the soldiers by the civil functionaries who happened to be at the Residency when it was shut in by the enemy.

2. His Excellency congratulates them very

heartily on the honour they have won in conjunction with their military comrades. This is only another instance that in danger and difficulty all Englishmen behave alike, whatever their profession.

Headquarters, La Martinière, Lucknow,
Nov. 23, 1857.

The Commander-in-Chief has reason to be thankful to the force he conducted for the relief of the garrison of Lucknow.

2. Hastily assembled, fatigued by forced marches, but animated by a common feeling of determination to accomplish the duty before them, all ranks of this force have compensated for their small number in the execution of a most difficult duty, by unceasing exertions.

3. From the morning of the 16th till last night, the whole force has been one outlying picket, never out of fire, and covering an immense extent of ground, to permit the garrison to retire scathless and in safety, covered by the whole of the relieving force.

4. That ground was won by fighting as hard as it ever fell to the lot of the Commander-in-Chief to witness, it being necessary to bring up the same men over and over again to fresh attacks ; and it is with the greatest gratification that his Excellency declares he never saw men behave better.

5. The storming of the Secunderbagh and the Shah Nujjeef has never been surpassed in daring, and the success of it was most brilliant and complete.

6. The movement of retreat of last night, by which the final rescue of the garrison was effected; was a model of discipline and exactness. The consequence was that the enemy was completely deceived, and the force retired by a narrow, tortuous lane, the only line of retreat open, in the face of 50,000 enemies, without molestation.

7. The Commander-in-Chief offers his sincere thanks to Major-General Sir J. Outram, G.C.B., for the happy manner in which he planned and carried out his arrangements for the evacuation of the Residency of Lucknow.

By order, &c.

W. MAYHEW, Major,
Deputy-Adjutant-General of the Army.

To the Right Honourable VISCOUNT CANNING,
Governor-General, Calcutta.

Headquarters, Camp, Cawnpore, Dec. 3, 1857.

My Lord,—In accordance with the instructions of your Lordship, arrangements were finally made with Sir James Outram, that his Division, made up to four thousand (4000) strong of all arms, should remain in position before Lucknow.

This position includes the post of Alumbagh, his standing camp, of which the front is fifteen hundred (1500) yards in rear of that post, and the bridge of Bunnee, which is held by four hundred (400) Madras Sepoys and two (2) guns.

On the 27th I marched with Brigadier-General Grant's Division, all the ladies and families who

had been rescued from Lucknow, and the wounded of both forces, making in all about two thousand (2000) people, whom it was necessary to carry, and encamped the evening of that day a little beyond Bunnee bridge.

The long train did not reach completely and file into camp until after midnight.

When we arrived at Bunnee, we were surprised to hear very heavy firing in the direction of Cawnpore. No news had reached me from that place for several days ; but it appeared necessary, whatever the inconvenience, to press forward as quickly as possible.

The march accordingly recommenced at nine a.m. the next morning, and shortly afterward I received two or three notes in succession,—first, announcing that Cawnpore had been attacked ; secondly, that General Windham was hard pressed ; and thirdly, that he had been obliged to fall back from outside the city into his intrenchment.

The force was accordingly pressed forward, convoy and all, and was encamped within three miles of the Ganges, about three hours after dark, the rear guard coming in with the end of the train some twenty-four hours afterwards.

I preceded the column of march by two or three hours and reached the intrenchment at dusk, where I learnt the true state of affairs.

The retreat of the previous day had been effected with the loss of a certain amount of camp equipage, and shortly after my arrival it was reported to me that a very important outpost had been evacuated.

All this appeared disastrous enough, and the next day the city was found to be in possession of the enemy at all points.

It had now become necessary to proceed with the utmost caution to secure the bridge.

All the heavy guns attached to General Grant's Division, under Captain Peel, R.N., and Captain Travers, R.A., were placed in position on the left bank of the Ganges, and directed to open fire and keep down the fire of the enemy on the bridge.

This was done very effectually, while Brigadier Hope's Brigade, with some field artillery and cavalry, was ordered to cross the bridge, and take position near the old Dragoon lines.

A cross fire was at the same time kept up from the intrenchment, to cover the march of the troops.

When darkness began to draw on, the artillery parks, the wounded, and the families, were ordered to file over the bridge; and it was not till six o'clock p.m. on the 30th, that the last cart had cleared the bridge.

The passage of the force, with its encumbrances, over the Ganges, had occupied thirty hours.

The camp now stretches from the Dragoon lines in a half circle round the position occupied by the late General Sir Hugh Wheeler, the Foot Artillery lines being occupied by the wounded and the families.

A desultory fire has been kept up by the enemy on the intrenchment and the front of the camp since this position was taken up, and I am obliged to submit to the hostile occupation of Cawnpore

until the actual despatch of all my encumbrances towards Allahabad has been effected.

However disagreeable this may be, and although it may tend to give confidence to the enemy, it is precisely one of those cases in which no risk must be run.

I trust, when the time has arrived for me to act with due regard to these considerations, to see the speedy evacuation of his present position by the enemy.

In the meantime the position taken up by Brigadier-General Grant's Division, under my immediate orders, has restored the communications with Futtehpore and Allahabad, as had been anticipated. The detachments moving along the road from these two places have been ordered to continue their march accordingly.

Major-General Windham's despatch, relating the operations conducted under his command, is enclosed.


In forwarding that document I have only to remark, that the complaint made by him in the second paragraph, of not receiving instructions from me, is explained by the fact of the letters he sent announcing the approach of the Gwalior force not having coming to hand.

The first notice I had of his embarrassment was the distant sound of cannonade above described.

All the previous reports had declared that there was but little chance of the Gwalior Contingent approaching Cawnpore.

I have, &c.,

C. CAMPBELL, General,
Commander-in-Chief.



*To the Right Honourable Viscount Canning,
Governor-General, Calcutta.*

Headquarters, Camp, Cawnpore, Dec. 10, 1857.

My Lord,—I have the honour to report to your Lordship, that late on the night of the 3rd instant, the convoy, which had given me so much anxiety, including the families and half the wounded, was finally despatched, and on the 4th and 5th the last arrangements were made for consigning the remainder of the wounded in places of safety, while a portion of the troops was withdrawn from the intrenchments to join the camp.

On the afternoon of the 5th, about three p.m., the enemy attacked our left pickets with artillery, and showed infantry round our left flank.

A desultory fire was also begun on our pickets in the General Gung, which is an old bazaar of very considerable extent along the canal, in front of the line occupied by the camp.

These advanced positions had been held, since our arrival, by Brigadier Greathed's Brigade with great firmness, the Brigadier having displayed his usual judgment in their arrangement and support. On two or three occasions he had been supported by Captain Peel's heavy guns and Captain Bouchier's field battery, when the artillery of the enemy had annoyed him and the general front of the camp.

After two hours' cannonading, the enemy retired on the afternoon in question.

Arrangements were then made for a general attack on him the next day.

His left occupied the old cantonment, from which General Windham's post had been principally assailed. His centre was in the city of Cawnpore, and lined the houses and bazaars overhanging the canal, which separated it from Brigadier Greathed's position, the principal streets having been afterwards discovered to be barricaded.

His right stretched some way beyond the angle formed by the Grand Trunk Road and the Canal, two miles in rear of which the camp of the Gwalior Contingent was pitched, and so covered the Calpee road. This was the line of retreat of that body.

In short, the canal, along which were placed his centre and right, was the main feature of his position, and could only be passed in the latter direction by two bridges.

It appeared to me, if his right were vigorously attacked that it would be driven from its position without assistance coming from other parts of his line, the wall of the town which gave cover to our attacking columns on our right being an effective obstacle to the movement of any portion of his troops from his left to right.

Thus the possibility became apparent of attacking his division in detail.

From intelligence received before and after the action, there seems to be little doubt that in consequence of the arrival of four regiments from Oude, and the gathering of various mutinous corps which had suffered in previous actions, as well as the assemblage of all the Nana's followers, the strength of the enemy now amounted

to about 25,000 men, with all the guns belonging to the contingent, some thirty-six (36) in number, together with a few guns belonging to the Nana.

Orders were given to General Windham, on the morning of the 6th, to open a heavy bombardment at nine a.m. from the intrenchment in the old cantonment, and so induce the belief in the enemy that the attack was coming from the General's position.

The camp was struck early, and all the baggage driven to the river side under a guard, to avoid the slightest risk of accident.

Brigadier Greathed, reinforced by the 64th Regiment, was desired to hold the same ground opposite the centre of the enemy, which he had been occupying for some days as above mentioned, and at eleven a.m. the rest of the force,

Brigadier Greathed's Brigade.

H.M.'s 8th Foot.

H.M.'s 64th Foot.

2nd Punjaub Infantry.

as per margin, was drawn up in contiguous columns in rear of some old cavalry lines, and effectually masked from the observation of the enemy.

Artillery Brigade.

Two troops Horse Artillery.

Three light field batteries.

Guns of the Naval Brigade.

Heavy field battery Royal Artillery.

Cavalry Brigade.

H.M.'s 9th Lancers.

Detachments 1st, 2nd, and 5th Punjaub Cavalry, and Hodson's Horse.

4th Infantry Brigade.

H.M.'s 53rd Regiment.

H.M.'s 42nd and 93rd Highlanders.

4th Punjaub Rifles.

The cannonade from the intrenchment having become slack at this time, the moment had arrived for

5th Infantry Brigade.

H.M.'s 23rd Fusiliers.

H.M.'s 32nd Regiment.

H.M.'s 82nd Regiment.

6th Infantry Brigade.
2nd and 3rd battalion Rifle Brigade.
Detachment H.M.'s 38th Foot.

the attack to commence.

Engineer Brigade.
Royal Engineers and Detachments
Bengal and Punjaub.
Sappers and miners attached to the
various brigades of infantry.

The cavalry and
Horse Artillery
having been sent to
make a *détour* on
the left and cross

the canal by a bridge a mile and a half further
up, and threaten the enemy's rear.

The infantry deployed in parallel lines fronting
the canal.

Brigadier Hope's brigade was in advance in one
line, Brigadier Inglis's Brigade being in rear of
Brigadier Hope.

At the same time Brigadier Walpole, assisted
by Captain Smith's field battery Royal Artillery,
was directed to pass the bridge immediately to
the left of Brigadier Greathed's position, and to
drive the enemy from the brick-kilns, keeping the
wall of the city for his guide.

The whole attack then proceeded, the enemy
quickly responding from his proper right to the
fire of our heavy and field artillery.

Good use was made of these guns by Captain
Peel, C.B., R.N., and the Artillery Officers under
Major-General Dupuis, C.B., R.A., Brigadier
Crawford, R.A., and Major Turner, R.A.

The Sikhs of the 4th Punjaub Infantry,
thrown into skirmishing order, supported by
H.M.'s 53rd Foot, attacked the enemy in some
old mounds and brick-kilns to our left with great
vigour.

The advance then continued with rapidity along
the whole line, and I had the satisfaction of

observing in the distance that Brigadier Walpole was making equal progress on the right.

The canal bridge was quickly passed, Captain Peel leading over it with a heavy gun, accompanied by a soldier of the 53rd, named Hannaford.

The troops which had gathered together, resuming their line of formation with great rapidity on either side as soon as it was crossed, and continuing to drive the enemy at all points, his camp being reached and taken at one p.m., and his rout being complete along the Calpee road.

I must here draw attention to the manner in which the heavy 24-pounder guns were impelled and managed by Captain Peel and his gallant sailors.

Through the extraordinary energy and good will with which the latter have worked, their guns have been constantly in advance throughout our late operations, from the relief of Lucknow, till now, as if they were light field-pieces, and the service rendered by them in clearing our front has been incalculable. On this occasion there was the sight beheld of 24-pounder guns advancing with the first line of skirmishers.

Without losing any time, the pursuit with cavalry, infantry, and light artillery, was pressed with the greatest eagerness to the fourteenth milestone on the Calpee road, and I have reason to believe that every gun and cart of ammunition which had been in that part of the enemy's position which had been attacked, now fell into our possession.

I had the satisfaction of accompanying the

troops engaged in the pursuit, and of being able to bear witness to their strenuous endeavours to make the most of the success which had been achieved.

When I passed the camp and went forward on the Calpee road, Major-General Mansfield was desired by me to make arrangements for the attack of the position called the Subadars' Tank, which extended round the left rear of the enemy's position in the old cantonments. As this operation was a separate one, I beg to enclose, for your Lordship's consideration, the Major-General's own narrative.

The troops having returned from the pursuit at midnight on the 6th, and their baggage having reached them on the afternoon of the next day, Brigadier-General Grant was detached in pursuit on the 8th with the cavalry, some light artillery, and a brigade of infantry, with orders to destroy public buildings belonging to Nana Sahib at Bithoor, and to press on to Serai Ghât, twenty-five miles from hence, if he had good tidings of the retreating enemy. This duty was admirably performed by the Brigadier-General, and he caught the enemy when he was about to cross the river with his remaining guns.

The Brigadier-General attacked him with great vigour, and by the excellent disposition he made of his force, succeeded in taking every gun the enemy possessed, without losing a single man. I have the pleasure to enclose the Brigadier-General's report for your Lordship's perusal.

I have, &c.,

C. CAMPBELL, General,
Commander-in-Chief.

*The Governor-General of India in Council to the
Commander-in-Chief.*

(Telegraphic.)

Calcutta, Nov. 21, 1857.

I congratulate you, my dear Sir Colin, with all my heart, on this great and joyful success.

Pray let me know how your wound is, and do not put yourself in the way of another.

You have effectually inspired your 93rd. I fear their whole loss must be very great.

Headquarters, Camp, Bareilly, May 11, 1858.

The Commander-in-Chief has received the most gracious commands of her Majesty the Queen to communicate to the army the expression of the deep interest felt by the Queen in the exertions of the troops and the successful progress of the campaign.

Sir Colin Campbell has delayed giving execution to the Royal command, until he was able to announce to the army that the last great stronghold of rebellion had fallen before the persevering efforts of the troops of her Majesty and the Honourable East India Company.

It is impossible for the Commander-in-Chief to express adequately his sense of the high honour done to him in having been chosen by the Queen to convey her Majesty's most gracious acknowledgment to the army, in the ranks of which he has passed his life.

The Commander-in-Chief ventures to quote the very words of the Queen :—

“That so many gallant and brave and distinguished men, beginning with one whose name will ever be remembered with pride, Brigadier-General Havelock, should have died and fallen, is a great grief to the Queen. To all European, as well as native troops, who have fought so nobly and so gallantly, and amongst whom the Queen is rejoiced to see the 93rd, the Queen wishes Sir Colin to convey the expression of her great admiration and gratitude.”

By order of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief,

W. MAYHEW, Lieut.-Colonel,
Adjutant-General of the Army.

Part 10.

P E A C E.

CHAPTER I.

Buckingham Palace—Cluny Castle—Dunkeld—Castle Newe—
The Braemar Gathering—Corriemulzie.

A FEW days after my return to England I had the honour of being presented to the Queen, at a levee held at St. James's Palace, and shall never forget the excessive kindness of the reception I met with from her Majesty. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge was also good enough to favour me with an interview at the Horse Guards. Shortly afterwards I received a communication from the Lord Chamberlain, informing me that he had received her Majesty's commands to invite me to dine at Buckingham Palace on the 5th May.

Besides the Queen and his Royal Highness Prince Albert, the party consisted of her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch, the Hanse Towns Minister and Madame Rucker, the Earl and Countess of Durham, Lady Fanny Howard, the Bishop of London (now Archbishop of Canterbury), Lord and Lady Raglan, Lady Peel, the Hon. Francis Stoner, Major-General the Hon. C. Grey, and the Hon. Miss Cavendish. Her Majesty's private band played during dinner, the Queen's piper afterwards playing one or two tunes. Tea and

coffee were served in the long gallery, and in the course of the evening her Majesty came up and addressed me in the kindest possible manner, making numerous inquiries about the fighting in India, and asking particularly after the wounded. She then asked if I was about to write to my regiment, and on my stating that I was on the point of sending a letter to Colonel the Hon. Adrian Hope, begged that I would convey to the 93rd Highlanders her special thanks for all they had done. His Royal Highness Prince Albert also spoke to me for some time.

Many kind invitations reached me, and I had the pleasure of dining with General Sir William Codrington on the 1st May, and with Sir Charles Forbes on the 3rd.

On the 11th May I had the honour of attending a state ball at Buckingham Palace, at which upwards of a thousand persons were present, the ball and concert-room, the approach gallery, state dinner-room, yellow drawing-room, saloon, white drawing-room, picture-gallery, and promenade gallery, being all thrown open for the reception, many of them beautifully decorated with rare shrubs and flowers. The Queen and Prince Albert were accompanied by the Queen of Portugal, the Duchess of Cambridge and Princess Mary, the Duke of Cambridge, Princess Anna of Saxe Weimar, the Prince of Hohenzollern, and Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern.

There is no country in the world where so much beauty is to be seen as in England, a state ball is therefore a sight worth seeing, a very large portion of the aristocracy being always present.

On this occasion the list included 17 Dukes, 19 Duchesses, 23 Marquises, 20 Marchionesses, 94 Earls, 74 Countesses, 39 Viscounts, 31 Viscountesses, 106 Lords, 319 Ladies, 178 Honourables, and 68 Baronets and Knights, with nearly every one of any note in London.

It was the custom at the time I speak of for the Queen and Prince Albert to sit between the dances at one end of the ball-room on a slightly raised platform, when many of those invited passed by and made their bow. Since her Majesty gave up attending balls, this practice has been dispensed with. A reel was, I remember, danced by the Duke of Athole and a few others.

In the course of the summer I received a most kind invitation from the Duke and Duchess of Somerset to a garden-party held at their charming residence, a few miles from London, and which I much enjoyed. I also attended an evening party given by the Bishop of London and Mrs. Tait, and was present at three weddings, and at the Caledonian ball.

During the months of May and June I spent several weeks at Dover, and recollect joining a very pleasant picnic at Eastwell Park, the seat of the Earl of Winchelsea, near Ashford, at which the late Duke of Richmond was present. He was quartered at the time at Dover with the Royal Sussex Militia Regiment, of which he was the Colonel; and I never remember meeting with a much more thorough soldier in every way. He was good enough to take me into his barrack-room, where he seemed to reside in the plainest and most simple manner. His grace had suc-

ceeded my father as Captain in the 52nd Light Infantry, when the latter was promoted out of it; and it was to his exertions that the old Peninsular officers owed their war medal.

Whilst at Dover a report reached England that three or four officers had been killed when attacking a fort in India. A few days afterwards the sad news arrived that Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. Adrian Hope was amongst the number. It shocked me very much, for although his death gave me my promotion, I had formed a great friendship for him, and the country could ill afford to lose the services of so excellent an officer. He was indeed a noble-hearted fellow, a first-rate soldier, and a good man. The melancholy event had happened on the 16th April, the name of the fort being Rohya, distant about fifty miles from Lucknow.

By poor Hope's death I now became the junior Lieut.-Colonel of the 93rd Highlanders.

On the 28th June I left London for Scotland, and after spending a few days in Kirkcudbrightshire, proceeded on, *via* Kells and Dalmellington, to Greenock, for the purpose of paying a visit to Mr. Matthew Brown, whose acquaintance I had made when quartered there in 1851. He had three sisters, and was a most benevolent and hospitable man, his house in Ardgowan Square being one of the best in the town. Before leaving I drove over to Brisbane to see my cousin, Sir Thomas. The old General was beginning to look very infirm, being in his eighty-fifth year. Lady Brisbane's two sisters, the Miss Makdougalls, were staying with him. I also went in a steamer to

the head of the Gair Loch, to call on an old 93rd brother officer, named Macdonald, a very worthy fellow, and formerly Adjutant of the regiment.

On the 13th July I left Greenock, and after spending one day at Stirling, and another at that sweet pretty place, Dunkeld, reached Cluny Castle, in Inverness-shire, on the 16th, taking the coach to Dalwhinnie, where I remained one night, and then posting. On arrival I received the kindest possible welcome from Cluny and Mrs. Macpherson; the party at the Castle, consisting of their three daughters and two youngest sons, and a very nice family from Windlesham, in Surrey, named Pears. The scenery in the neighbourhood was very fine. I had one pleasant drive to Loch Laggan, distant about twelve miles, and remember a delightful picnic at the Lakes of Ouvie, when we caught some pike and trout. Some of the young ladies sang, and as we had a piper with us, we had a most jovial day. The English family took their departure after a few days, and we were very sorry to lose them. Mr. Pears was a brother of the late Head Master of Repton School, and a most agreeable man. One of his daughters, named, I think, Mary, had a beautiful voice, and it was a great treat to hear her sing "Ben Bolt."

On the 27th I started off with Cluny's third son, Gordon, for Dunkeld, in order to be present at the annual Highland Games, which were held on the following day, the Duke of Athole turning out about sixty of his men and a couple of pipers. The competition was very good, the dancing being excellent, and the weather fortunately fine. In the evening a dinner took place

out of doors, about nine o'clock, the tables being arranged in the park, and close to the ruins of the old abbey, where the Wolf of Badenoch reposes. By the Duke's request I gave my arm to the Duchess, and had the pleasure of sitting between her and Lady James Murray. During dinner the pipers and drums and fifes played several tunes; and after the cloth was removed, numerous toasts were proposed, intermixed with songs. It fell to my lot to have the honour of proposing the health of the Duchess, who got up and made a very nice speech in reply; in fact she seemed to be a most charming person in every way. As the gentlemen were all in kilts, it was altogether a most picturesque scene, that lovely river the Tay rolling quietly below us, and a bright moon shining overhead; in fact it was a grand opportunity for a good picture, had an artist been present to make a sketch.

About half-past eleven we adjourned to the Duke's residence for tea and coffee, and it was late before I got back to my hotel. After breakfasting with his Grace on the following morning he took us to see his otter hounds, and was good enough to give me a very nice terrier pup. After walking about the park for a couple of hours we had to say good-bye, the Duke most kindly begging me to pay him a visit at Blair Athole, to which place he was moving in a few days. I was unfortunately obliged to decline his kind invitation in consequence of other engagements.

We got back to Cluny Castle in good time for dinner, and the next day had another delightful picnic, this time on rather an elevated spot, as it

took place on the summit of Craig Dubh, about 2500 feet high. Two of the young ladies rode a portion of the way on ponies, but the rest of us had to climb, and I had luckily now quite got over my wounds. We lit a large bonfire, and as we had the Chief's piper with us and plenty of champagne, had capital fun. A large cairn has been erected on the top of this mountain, and I managed to ascend it, notwithstanding the loss of my arm.

If any person was to search the whole world over, it would be hardly possible to find a more delightful place to stop at than Cluny Castle, and I never shall forget the great kindness I received there. The day commenced with the piper marching round, as a signal to get up; and in the evening he generally appeared in the hall, when a reel was danced. As for Mrs. Macpherson, it would be impossible not to be happy and cheerful in any house where she resides; and both she and Cluny, and the whole family, are loved and respected by all in Badenoch. The eldest son, Duncan, now commanding the Black Watch, lately distinguished himself near Coomassie, and gained a Brevet-Lieut.-Colonelcy and C.B.; the second, Ewen, served with the 93rd Highlanders in the Crimea and India, and is now Lieut.-Colonel of the regiment; the third, Gordon, was at the time I speak of Page of Honour to her Majesty, and afterwards entered the Coldstream Guards; the fourth, Albert, was when I stayed at Cluny Castle a dear little fellow, about four years of age. There were three daughters, all as nice as could be.

On the 3rd August I had to take leave of the good old chief, whose gallant clan fought so bravely for Prince Charlie. My thoughts often fly back to the dear old castle, and may many years of health and happiness be in store for those who reside there!

After posting to Fort William, where I slept one night, I moved across to Bannavie, for the purpose of inspecting the monument erected to the memory of Colonel John Cameron, killed at Quatre-Bras when in command of the 92nd Highlanders, and generally known as Fasafearn. I then proceeded on to Fort Augustus, where I fell in with an old officer, who had lost an arm in the year 1799, and who told me that he still felt the missing hand quite plainly. After taking a look at the celebrated fall of Foyers *en route*, I reached Inverness, and then travelled to Edinburgh, where I remained for a few days at Crawford's private hotel, in George Street, going, however, for one night to Aberdeen, to see the 93rd dépôt, then stationed there.

About the middle of August I returned to Dover, where I remained about three weeks, and then again went north, Sir Charles Forbes having given me a most kind invitation to visit him at Castle Newe, for the purpose of having some shooting, and also of accompanying the Forbes clan to the Braemar gathering. I arrived there on the 4th September, and met with a hearty welcome, walking from Gartley station, through Lumsden village, a distance of about twenty miles, my luggage following in a conveyance, which had been sent to meet Sir William Forbes

of Craigievar, but who was not to arrive till a later train.

On Wednesday, the 8th, the Forbes clan, all in kilts, assembled about eight miles from Castle Newe, at a place called Tornahaish, when we at once marched to Corriemulzie, a distance of twenty-four miles further, where we encamped, Lord Macduff, with the Duff clan, coming out to meet us. It was quite dark when we arrived, but we found an immense bonfire blazing, and the men were soon comfortably settled in their tents. Close by stood a cottage belonging to the Earl of Fife, and in this, not being provided with a tent, I put up for the night with one or two others. The officers of the clan on this occasion, besides Sir Charles and myself, were his two sons, Sir William Forbes, Charles Leith-Hay, Charles and Reginald Radcliffe, a very good fellow named Mackenzie, and Forbes Gordon. The clan numbered about 120, with four drummers and three pipers, the men being all armed with pikes. I must not forget to mention, that as we passed Invercauld, on our way to Corriemulzie, we found Mrs. Farquharson and a large party at the lodge gate, where a table had been placed on which stood champagne, sandwiches, and other good things, including a supply of whisky for the men. It was a very kind act, and before resuming our march after the halt, we gave Mrs. Farquharson three cheers.

On the 9th I had the pleasure of dining with the Earl and Countess of Fife, and sat opposite to a very beautiful person, who I ascertained was Lady Margaret Beaumont,

daughter of the Marquis of Clanricarde; she wore, I remember, some magnificent diamonds. The party also included Mr. and Lady Louisa Brooke, General the Hon. C. Gore and his daughter, the Hon. T. Stonor, Lieut.-General Sir Maxwell Wallace, Lady Duff, Sir Charles Forbes, Lady Forbes of Craigievar, the Bishop of Aberdeen and Miss Suther, Colonel and Mrs. Dalrymple, Mr. Beaumont, and several others. In the evening a grand ball took place—a large party, which included the Countess of Kinnoull, coming from Invercauld. It was held at Mar Lodge, a spacious marquee being erected in connexion with it, and an immense number of people were present. Reels were danced all night, and all sorts of good things provided; in fact, everybody enjoyed themselves thoroughly.

The games took place on the 10th, the three clans (Forbes, Duff, and Farquharson) marching down to the ground near the old castle, where they are always held. Captain Farquharson, of the Scots Fusilier Guards, was in command of his clan, assisted by Mr. Butter, of Fascally, and three other officers, named, I think, Farquharson, MacLagan, and Jervoise. The Duffs were under Lord Fife, Captain Brooke, the Hon. Erskine Wemyss, and Mr. Kennedy Erskine, formerly in the 17th Lancers.

Rain unfortunately fell, and her Majesty did not appear—to the great disappointment of everybody. The Earl of Derby, General Grey, Lady Churchill, the Hon. Miss Stopford, and Captain Lindsay, came, however, from Balmoral; and Lord and Lady James Murray, and the Hon. Miss Wortley,

from Abergeldie; General Dyce, Captain St. George, 78th Highlanders (in command of the Queen's guard at Ballater), Captain Chamier, R.N., Captain Hillyar, R.N., and many others being on the ground. In the evening another ball took place at Mar Castle, when all the three clans were present.

The following is a list of the successful competitors at the games :—

Putting the Stone (28 lbs.).—First prize, George Hutchison, Braemar, 26ft. 2in.

Second prize, John McHardy, Corgarff, 24ft. 7in.

Throwing the Hammer (16 lbs.).—First prize, Alexander Robertson, Glenisla, 72ft. 11in.

Second prize, John Abercromby, Coldrach, 69ft. 4in.

Tossing the Cabar.—First prize, Charles McHardy, Castle Newe.

Second prize, James Robertson, Glenisla.

CHAMPION MEDALS.

Putting the Stone.—William McHardy, Corgarff, 26ft. 4in.

Throwing the Hammer.—William McHardy, Corgarff, 79ft.

Tossing the Cabar.—William McHardy, Corgarff.

Foot Race.—First prize, Charles McIntosh.

Second prize, Alexander Abercrombie.

Third prize, Alexander Grant.

John McIntosh, keeper to the Earl of Fife, gained a prize for length of service.

In the dancing, McKenzie, McIntosh, McGruer, and Rattray, all distinguished themselves; and in the course of the afternoon a capital reel was danced by the youthful Viscount Macduff, one of Sir Charles Forbes' sons, and two of the young Farquharsons of Invercauld. Lord James Mur-

ray, Wemyss of Wemyss, Charles Leith-Hay, and one of the Farquharsons, also dancing another in capital style amidst loud applause.

On the 11th the Forbes clan struck tents and marched back by Gairnshiel to Tornahaish, Sir William Forbes' men going down Deeside. It was nine p.m. when we reached Castle Newe, and I was then not sorry to get some dinner after my long walk.

The next two days I had a rest, but on the 14th drove over to Delnademph, Sir Charles's shooting-box, distant thirteen miles, and had a couple of days' deer-stalking, only, however, getting one, which I knocked over at a distance of about ninety-five yards, resting my rifle on the shoulder of Alastair McHardy, the keeper. Shooting with one arm I found to be not quite so easy as with two, or going on all threes so satisfactory a proceeding as going on all fours. Mackenzie, who was with me, did not manage to get a shot. Whilst at Newe I also got a couple of roe deer. The grouse were very numerous, and Sir Charles's two sons bagged a great number.

Having taken leave of the hospitable baronet and his most kind wife, I proceeded on the 16th to Glamis Castle, on a visit to my old friend the Earl of Strathmore. It was a great pleasure to meet my college chum once more; but, alas! the beautiful Lady Strathmore was no longer there to welcome me, and when I thought of her early death I could not but feel sad. Miss Ricardo was there when I arrived, but afterwards the party only consisted of Claude Lyon and Captain Ames (formerly in the 17th Lancers) and his wife, the

latter a daughter of Sir John M. Wilson, and sister to the good-looking young Queen's page who borrowed my horse when at Sandhurst. Lady Wilson, whom I once had the pleasure of being introduced to at Chelsea Hospital, was a most fascinating person, and Mrs. Ames seemed to be equally nice.

On the 20th I wished Strathmore good-bye, and paid a short visit to Mr. and Mrs. Butter, at Fascally; after which I again crossed the border, and on the 24th arrived in London, where it was now necessary for certain reasons to reside for a period of three weeks; I accordingly engaged rooms in New Bond Street. A very large comet made its appearance about this time, and continued for several weeks to be a magnificent object at night; it was, however, nothing to the one I had seen in the year 1843, when on the other side of the equator.

CHAPTER II.

Another Cocked-hat—Fort George—The 78th Highlanders
(Ross-shire Buffs).

ON the 16th November (the anniversary of the storming of the Secunder-Bagh) an event of some importance to myself took place, the nature of which will be best explained by the following copy of an announcement which appeared in the *Times* of the 17th November, 1858:—

“On the 16th instant, at St. George’s, Hanover Square, by the Rev. D. Butler, Lieut.-Colonel John Alexander Ewart, C.B., 93rd Highlanders, third son of the late Lieut.-General Ewart, C.B., to Frances, eldest daughter of J. Spencer Stone, Esq., of Callingwood, in the county of Stafford.”

My best man was my cousin, Salisbury Ewart, of the Grenadier Guards; and after the breakfast—which took place at Chapman’s Hotel, Cavendish Square—was over, I started with my wife for the Continent, remaining for some days in Paris, at the Hôtel des Deux Mondes, in the Rue d’Antin. :

On our return to England we paid several visits in the midland counties, our first being to that pleasantest of companions, Robert Harper, of Mancetter Hall, near Atherstone; and our last to my old and valued friends, Mr. and Mrs. Woodcock, at Coventry, the former a retired Indian Judge, and the latter, sister to Brodie, of Brodie

Castle, near Nairn. Whilst there we attended the hospital and charity balls at Coventry, and the hunt ball at Stratford-on-Avon; meeting at the latter Lady Willoughby de Broke (third daughter of Major-General Taylor, Lieut.-Governor of the Royal Military College), who introduced me to her husband. We next proceeded to Brighton, and then took lodgings for some time in the Marine Parade, Dover, remaining there till the spring, when we went up to town.

On the 14th of April we attended a drawing-room at St. James's Palace, and my dear wife was presented to her Majesty by Viscountess Strathallan. About ten days afterwards, as I was walking about, I chanced to meet with my cousin Edith Ewart, since married to the eldest son of Sir William Cope, Bart., of Bramshill, who informed me, to my great astonishment, that I had been appointed an Aide-de-Camp to the Queen. I told her that I felt sure she was mistaken, as I had heard nothing whatever on the subject; but she was very positive, stating that the Minister of War had mentioned it to Mr. William Ewart, in the House of Commons, on the preceding evening. I went home in high spirits, but still feared that there had been some misconception on the part of my cousin.

On the 26th April, to my great and inexpressible delight, a *Gazette* appeared, containing the gratifying announcement that I had really been appointed an Aide-de-Camp to her Majesty, with the rank of Colonel in the Army. I could hardly believe my good fortune, as this promotion put me at once over the heads of about one hundred

Lieut.-Colonels, to say nothing of the honourable nature of the position for which I had been selected.

On the 11th May his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge was good enough to present me to the Queen on my new appointment, at a levee held in St. James's Palace. Her Majesty was exceedingly gracious; and as she most kindly inquired after my wounds as I knelt down, I took the opportunity of returning thanks for the great honour that had been conferred upon me. In the month of June I attended, with my wife, another State ball, an invitation, or command, as it is called, having been most kindly sent to us.

After leaving London we proceeded to Callington Hall, where we remained for some time with Mr. and Mrs. Spencer Stone; and I think it was during this summer that we paid a short visit to Mr. Frank Hall, formerly in the 7th Hussars, at his seat, Park Hall, in Nottinghamshire, where I had some excellent trout-fishing in the famous L pond.

My leave of absence was now beginning to draw to a close, and I had to think seriously of a return to India, where, however, the fighting had long since ceased, tranquillity having been quite restored. The serious part of the matter was that I should be obliged to part from my wife, whose father had made me promise, before giving his consent to the marriage, that I would never take her to India. Whilst turning the matter over in my mind I received information that the Lieut.-Colonel of the 78th Highlanders, then also on leave of absence in England, was anxious to exchange, as the regiment was on its way home, and he wished to remain in India. I at once

placed myself in communication with him, and an arrangement was soon effected. Both the 78th and 93rd being kilted corps, we were mutually satisfied in every way.

On the 30th September, 1859, our exchange was duly gazetted, and I found myself the Lieut.-Colonel of the Ross-shire Buffs. It was with much regret that I quitted the Sutherland Highlanders, in which corps I had spent so many happy days, and seen so much hard service; but it must be borne in mind that in India a battalion has two Lieut.-Colonels, and I was only the junior, whereas now I had the sole and independent command of a regiment—one second, too, to none in the army.

On the 6th October, my eldest child and only daughter was born, at Callingwood. The 78th landed shortly afterwards from India, and I at once started for Fort George, for the purpose of taking command, knowing well that there would be plenty of work in store for me.

Fort George is situated on the Moray Firth, and is about twelve miles distant from the town of Inverness. I arrived there on the 19th October, and thus it fell to my lot to join all my three regiments in Scotland. It may not now be out of place to give a brief history of the circumstances under which the 78th Highlanders were raised. There have been no less than three regiments which bore this title. The first was raised in the year 1757, by the Hon. Simon Fraser, son of Lord Lovat, who was beheaded at the Tower of London, for his faithful adherence to the unfortunate House of Stuart. It was more generally known by the name of the Fraser Highlanders, and con-

sisted, when first formed, of 1460 men, including sixty-five sergeants and thirty pipers and drummers. The following is a list of the officers:—

Lieut.-Colonel.—The Hon. Simon Fraser, died a Lieut.-General in 1782.

Majors.—James Clephane ; John Campbell, afterwards Lieut.-Colonel of the Campbell Highlanders.

Captains.—John Macpherson, brother of Cluny ; John Campbell of Ballimore ; Simon Fraser of Inverallochy, killed on the Heights of Abraham ; Donald Macdonald, brother of Clanronald, killed at Quebec ; John Macdonell of Lochgarry, afterwards Colonel of the 76th ; Alexander Cameron of Dungallon ; Thomas Ross of Culrossie, killed on the Heights of Abraham ; Thomas Fraser of Strui : Alexander Fraser of Culduthel ; Sir Henry Seton of Abercorn and Culbeg ; James Fraser of Belladrum ; Simon Fraser, died a Lieut.-General in 1812.

Lieutenants.—Alexander Macleod ; Hugh Cameron ; Ronald Macdonell, son of Keppoch ; Charles Macdonell, killed at St. John's ; Roderick Macneill of Barra, killed on the Heights of Abraham ; William Macdonell ; Archibald Campbell, son of Glenlyon ; John Fraser of Balnain ; Hector Macdonald, brother of Boisdale, killed in 1759 ; Allan Stewart, son of Innernaheil ; John Fraser ; Alexander Macdonell, son of Barisdale, killed on the Heights of Abraham ; Alexander Fraser, killed at Louisbourg ; Alexander Campbell of Aross ; John Douglass ; John Nairn ; Arthur Rose, of the family of Kilravock ; Alexander Fraser ; John Macdonell of Leeks ; Cosmo Gordon, killed at Quebec in 1760 ; David Baillie, killed at Louisbourg ; Charles Stewart, son of Colonel John Roy Stewart ; Ewen Cameron, of the family of Glenevis ; Allan Cameron ; John Cuthbert, killed at Louisbourg ; Simon Fraser ; Archibald Macallister, of the family of Loup ; James Murray, killed at Louisbourg ; Alexander Fraser ; Donald Cameron, son of Fasafearn.

Ensigns.—John Chisholm ; John Fraser of Erroglie ; Simon Fraser ; James Mackenzie ; Malcolm Fraser ; Donald Macneil ; Henry Munro ; Hugh Fraser ; Alexander Gregorson, Ardtornish ; James Henderson ; Robert Menzies ; John Campbell.

Chaplain.—The Rev. Robert Macpherson.

Surgeon.—John Maclean.

Adjutant.—Hugh Fraser.

Quartermaster.—John Fraser.

The uniform was the full Highland dress, with musket and claymore (to which many soldiers added a dirk at their own expense) and a purse of badger's or otter's skin. The regiment landed at Halifax in June, 1757, and after the termination of the war, many of the officers and men settled in Canada, receiving a grant of land. The rest were sent home and discharged. General Stewart in his admirable work, to which I am indebted for the above and some other particulars, mentions that on the arrival of the 78th, or Fraser's Highlanders, in North America, it was proposed to change the uniform, the kilt being supposed to be unfit for the severe winters of that country. The officers and men vehemently protested against such a proceeding, and their remonstrance was successful, the Highlanders afterwards, in the coldest winters, proving far more healthy than those who wore breeches and warm clothing.

The following is a return of killed and wounded of the 78th Highlanders in the war of 1756-63.

	KILLED.		WOUNDED.	
	Officers.	Men.	Officers.	Men.
Louisbourg.....	4	17	3	41
Montmorency.....	2	19	6	85
Heights of Abraham	3	15	10	138
Quebec	4	58	27	129
St. John's	1	3	0	7
	—	—	—	—
Total	14	112	46	400

Thus it will be seen that the first 78th Regiment did good service. The second regiment which bore the number of 78 was raised by the Earl of Seaforth, in the year 1778, and consisted of 1130

men, who assembled at Elgin, principally collected by gentlemen of the Mackenzie clan. About 500 of the men were from the earl's own estate, and about 400 from the estates of Seatwell, Kilcoy, Applecross, and Redcastle, all belonging to the Mackenzie family. In the year 1781 the regiment embarked for the East Indies, being then known as the 78th or Seaforth's Highlanders. Five years afterwards the number was changed to the 72nd, and in the year 1809, it lost the designation of Highland and the national dress. So it remained till the year 1823, when the corps received the designation of "The Duke of Albany's Highlanders," and reassumed the plaid and bonnet, but with tartan trews instead of the kilt. I had the pleasure of serving with this regiment in the same division, in the Crimea, and never saw a better disciplined body of men.

The first battalion of the existing 78th Highlanders, or Ross-shire Buffs, was raised by the next Earl of Seaforth, in the year 1793, and was embodied at Fort George, the following being a list of the original officers:—

Lieut.-Colonels.—F. H. Mackenzie, afterwards Lord Seaforth and a Lieut.-General; Alexander Mackenzie Fraser, afterwards a Lieut.-General.

Majors.—George Earl of Errol; Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn, Bart., afterwards a Lieut.-General.

Captains.—Alexander Macleod; Thomas Fraser of Leadclune; John Mackenzie, son of Gairloch, afterwards a Lieut.-General; Gabriel Murray, killed in 1794; Alexander Grant; J. Randall Mackenzie of Suddie, killed at Talavera when Major-General; Alexander Adams, afterwards a Major-General; Hon. George Cochrane, son of the Earl of Dundonald; Duncan Munro of Calcairn.

Lieutenants.—Colin Mackenzie; James Fraser; Charles Rose;

The 78th (Mackenzie) Highlanders. 213

Hugh Munro ; Charles Adamson ; William Douglas, son of Brighton, afterwards Lieut.-Colonel of 91st Regiment ; George Bayley ; Thomas Lord Cochrane, afterwards in the Royal Navy ; Archibald Christie, afterwards Governor of Stirling Castle.

Ensigns.—Duncan Macrea ; John Macleod, afterwards Major-General ; J. Mackenzie Scott, killed at Albuhera in 57th Regiment ; Charles Mackenzie ; John Reid ; David Forbes ; Alexander Rose ; John Fraser.

Chaplain.—The Rev. Alexander Downie.

Surgeon —Thomas Baillie, died in India.

Adjutant.—James Fraser.

Quartermaster.—Archibald Macdougall.

The 78th wear the tartan of the Mackenzie clan, known by the designation of “Cabar Fiadh” (pronounced Cabar Fey). These two Gaelic words signify Stag’s or Deer’s horns, and a Stag’s head is borne as the crest of the Mackenzies. It was assumed in consequence of Kenneth, the ancestor of the family, having rescued King Alexander II. of Scotland from a wounded stag, which had attacked him, and thrown him down. From this circumstance the 78th at one time went by the name of “the King’s Men ;” and they still bear upon their Colours the Gaelic motto “Cuidich’n Rìgh,” or “Save the King.”

The regiment was first sent to Guernsey, where it embarked, in September, 1794, for Holland, and after greatly distinguishing itself, returned to England in the following month of May. A second battalion was raised in February, 1794, the following officers being appointed to it :—

Lieut.-Colonel.—Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Bart., promoted from 1st battalion.

Majors.—J. Randall Mackenzie of Suddie, promoted from 1st battalion ; Michael Monypenny.

Captains.—John H. Brown, afterwards killed ; Simon Mackenzie ; William Campbell, killed at Java in 1811, when Lieut.-Colonel ; John Mackenzie, afterwards a General Officer ; Patrick Macleod, son of Geanies, killed at El Hamet when Lieut.-Colonel ; Hercules Scott of Benholm, killed in Canada when Lieut.-Colonel of 103rd Regiment ; John Scott ; John Macleod, afterwards a General Officer.

Lieutenants.—James Hanson ; Alexander Macneil ; Aeneas Sutherland ; Murdoch Mackenzie ; Archibald C. B. Crawford ; Norman Macleod, afterwards Lieut.-Colonel of the Royal Scots ; Thomas Leslie ; Alexander Sutherland (senior) ; Alexander Sutherland (junior) ; P. Mackintosh ; John Douglas ; George Macgrigor ; B. G. Mackay ; Donald Cameron ; James Hay ; Thomas Davidson ; William Gordon ; Robert Johnstone ; Hon. William Douglas Halyburton ; John Macneil ; John Dunbar.

Ensigns.—George Macgregor, afterwards Lieut.-Colonel of 59th Regiment ; Donald Cameron ; John Macneil ; William Polson ; Alexander Wishart.

Chaplain.—The Rev. Charles Proby.

Adjutant.—James Hanson.

Quartermaster.—Alexander Wishart.

This battalion embarked, in August, 1794, at Fort George for England, where it remained till the following year, when it was sent with an expedition under Vice-Admiral Keith and Major-General Craig, to attack the Cape of Good Hope. The capture of the Colony, was effected with a loss to the 78th of only a few men killed, and two officers and a few men wounded.


In the year 1796 the first battalion was also ordered to the Cape of Good Hope, where it arrived in the month of June. The two battalions were now consolidated, the supernumerary officers and men being sent home. In 1797 the regiment was ordered to India, and in the attack on Ahmednugger had 3 officers and 12 men killed, and 1 officer and 5 men wounded. It subsequently took part in the battle of Assaye, when it suffered

a loss of 1 officer and 27 rank and file, killed; and 6 officers, 4 sergeants, and 73 rank and file, wounded. After a fight near Argaum, General Wellesley wrote, that "the 78th deserved and received his thanks."

On the 30th April, 1811, the regiment sailed with the expedition against the island of Java, in the conquest of which it lost its Lieut.-Colonel (Campbell), 1 Lieutenant, and 31 rank and file, killed; and 3 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, 3 sergeants, and 84 rank and file wounded. Some very handsome soup tureens formed part of the spoil, and are still in use at the officers' mess of the 78th. It was not until the year 1816 that the regiment quitted the island, when it embarked for Calcutta in the month of September, being unfortunately shipwrecked on the passage, the vessel striking on a rock about twelve miles from the island of Prepares. Nothing could be finer than the conduct of the 78th on this occasion, and by means of rafts all were saved, with the exception of fourteen who were unfortunately drowned, and five who died. A passing ship luckily came to the rescue of the regiment, and it eventually reached India, where it remained till it embarked for England, in March 1817.

In the year 1804 a second battalion was again raised for the 78th, and embodied at Fort George, being the fourth battalion which owed its origin to the Seaforth family. The following is a list of the officers:—

Colonel.—Major-General Alexander Mackenzie Fraser of Castle Fraser, who died as Lieut.-General in



Lieut.-Colonel.—Patrick Macleod of Geanies, killed at El Hamet, in 1807.

Majors.—David Stewart of Garth, afterwards a General Officer; James Macdonell of Glengarry, afterwards in Coldstream Guards.

Captains.—Alexander Wishart; Duncan Macpherson; James Macvean; Charles William Maclean; Duncan Macgregor, afterwards Lieut.-Colonel of 93rd, and now a full General and K.C.B.; William Anderson; Robert Henry Dick, afterwards Lieut.-Colonel of 42nd; Colin Campbell Mackay of Big-house; George Mackay.

Lieutenants.—William Balvaird, afterwards in Rifle Brigade; Patrick Strachan; James Macpherson, killed in Java; William Mackenzie Dick, killed at El Hamet; John Matheson; Cornwallis Bowen; William Mackenzie; Malcolm Macgregor; James Mackay; Thomas Hamilton; Robert Nicholson; Charles Grant; Horace St. Paul; George William Bowes; William Matheson; William Cameron.

Ensigns.—John Mackenzie Stewart; John Munro, killed in Java; Christopher Macrae, killed at El Hamet; Roderick Macqueen; Neil Campbell; John L. Strachan; Alexander Cameron; Alexander Gallie; Robert Burnet.

Surgeon.—Thomas Draper.

Paymaster.—James Ferguson.

Adjutant.—William Mackenzie.

Quartermaster.—John Macpherson.

Assistant-Surgeon.—William Munro.

Chaplains had apparently by this time been abolished.

This battalion embarked at Fort George in February, 1805, and proceeded to Hythe, where it had the good fortune to be brigaded with the 43rd and 52nd Regiments under Sir John Moore. In September of the same year it embarked for Gibraltar, but experienced very bad weather, and coming in for the gale which occasioned such destruction after the battle of Trafalgar, had to seek shelter in the Tagus, not arriving at its destination till the month of November. In May,

1806, it was ordered to Sicily, and in the month of July took part in the battle of Maida, when a glorious victory was gained over the French under Regnier, the British loss only amounting to 1 officer, 3 sergeants, and 41 rank and file, killed; and 11 officers, 8 sergeants, and 261 rank and file, wounded; whilst the French had no less than 1300 killed, with probably three times that number wounded. The 78th greatly distinguished themselves in this action, and had 7 men killed; and their Lieut.-Colonel, 1 of the Majors, 2 Captains, 1 Lieutenant, 2 Ensigns, 4 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 69 rank and file, wounded. It is worthy of remark that the regiment was at this time composed of very young men. The total force of the British was, I believe, under 4000. In the following year, the second battalion proceeded to Egypt, and after being engaged in various fights, returned to Sicily, being soon afterwards ordered to England, where it arrived in the beginning of 1808. In 1813, it proceeded to Holland, and fought with great bravery in the successful attack upon the village of Merxem, experiencing a loss of 2 officers and 9 rank and file killed, and 3 officers and 26 rank and file wounded. After remaining for a considerable time in the Netherlands, it was ordered to Scotland, and in the year 1816, was reduced in consequence of the peace, a number of the men joining the 1st battalion, on its arrival from India in 1817.

The 78th subsequently served for eleven years in the island of Ceylon, and after returning home, again proceeded to India in 1842. Its exploits

there and in Persia are too recent and too well known to need any description.

At the period of my appointment to the command of the regiment, the names of the officers were as follows :—

Lieut.-Colonel.—John Alexander Ewart, C.B., now Lieut.-General.

Majors.—Henry Hamilton, C.B., now Lieut.-General ; Colin C. McIntyre, C.B., now Lieut.-General.

Captains.—J. Duncan McAndrew ; Græme A. Lockhart, now Major-General ; T. R. Drummond Hay ; Alexander Mackenzie, lately Lieut.-Colonel of the 78th, now Major-General ; John Henderson ; L. Pleydell-Bouverie ; William M. Archer ; Thomas Anderson ; T. C. B. St. George ; A. W. P. Weekes ; Oswald B. Fielden ; Augustus E. Warren, now commanding the 78th.

Lieutenants.—George D. Barker ; Melville A. Walker ; Frederick H. Walsh ; Edward J. Fitzsimons ; William Thomson ; Richard P. Butler ; John N. Gower ; W. S. S. M. Browne ; Richard Clay ; Thomas Mackenzie ; Thomas H. Thompson ; Malcolm McNeill ; R. C. C. Graham ; Henry A. Ingles ; H. B. Savory.

Ensigns.—Sir Alexander Muir Mackenzie of Delvine, Bart. ; Andrew Murray ; Thomas O. S. Davies ; A. B. Kerr Williamson of Cardrona ; James B. Baillie ; J. T. S. Richardson, eldest son of Sir John Richardson of Pitfour, Bart. ; James Hart ; Henry Swanson ; John Ingle ; William C. Smith.

Paymaster.—Joseph Webster.

Adjutant.—George D. Barker.

Quartermaster.—Charles Skrine.

Surgeon.—Joseph Jee, C.B.

Assistant-Surgeons.—V. M. McMaster, V.C. ; S. S. Skipton, M.D.

Captain John Finlay, who had served with the 78th in India, shortly afterwards exchanged back to the regiment with Captain Henderson, and Captain George Forbes exchanged from the 19th Regiment with Captain Archer.

CHAPTER III.

Entry of the 78th Highlanders into Edinburgh.

THE day after my arrival at Fort George, a dinner was given to the non-commissioned officers and privates of the 78th Highlanders by the gentlemen of Ross-shire and Inverness-shire. It took place at Inverness, and as I had not served with the regiment in India, I thought it only right that it should proceed to the entertainment under the command of an officer who had done so. I therefore requested Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel McIntyre, who had so long commanded at the Alumbagh, near Lucknow, to take charge, and remained by myself at the Fort for the day. A banquet was also given to the 78th at Nairn, but as I was not present at either, it is not in my power to give any details.

The dinner at Inverness was followed a day or two afterwards by a ball to the officers, and this as Lieut.-Colonel of the regiment I thought it best to attend. It took place at the Northern Meeting Rooms, and was a very brilliant gathering. The Earl and Countess of Seafield, Lord Lovat and the Master of Lovat, Sir James and Lady Anne Mackenzie, the Hon. Major Grant of Grant, the Hon. George Grant, Lieut.-Colonel the Hon.

A. E. Fraser, Sir A. P. Gordon Cumming, and Lady Cumming, Sir Philip and Lady Egerton, Seaforth, General Maclean, Mackintosh of Farr, Colonel Stewart, 14th Light Dragoons, Mackintosh of Raigmore, Mackenzie of Findon, Wardlaw of Belmaduthy, White of Monar, Captain Grant of Glenmoriston, Mr. Merry of Belladrum, M.P., and Mrs. Merry, Ross of Rossie, Munro of Poyntzfield, Mackenzie of Kilcoy, Fowler of Rad-dery, Mackintosh of Holm, Baillie of Leys, Graham of Drynie, Davidson of Cantray, Dempster of Dunichan, Colonel A. Macdonell, C.B., Rifle Brigade, Provost Mackenzie of Inverness and many others too numerous to mention, being present.

The supper, which was a most excellent one, was presided over by Lord Lovat, and I had the honour of taking in the Countess of Seafeld, a most charming person. Lady Anne Mackenzie, who seemed also very nice, being next to me on the other side.

The health of the officers of the 78th was proposed by Sir James Mackenzie of Seatwell, and responded to by Lieut.-Colonel McIntyre; several other toasts followed, after which dancing was resumed, and it was not until past six o'clock that the ball broke up. It was hard to say who was the *belle* of the evening on this occasion, but I remember being introduced to an exceedingly pretty Miss Cole.

Many kind invitations reached me at Fort George, but I declined them all, having made up my mind to devote myself entirely to my work; and although I found the regiment in admirable

order, and its interior economy excellent, there was still much to be done, especially as a depôt of 500 strong had just joined from Aberdeen. After so much hard service in Persia and India, many little matters of course required to be attended to.

I had only been a few days at the Fort, when Major-General Lord Melville, Commanding the troops in Scotland, arrived from Edinburgh, for the purpose of inspecting the regiment. He remained some little time, and although the mess was hardly properly established, dined with the officers each night, always joining in a rubber afterwards. In the month of December, a copy of the following letter was forwarded to me by Colonel McCleverty, Assistant-Adjutant-General of the North British District.

“My Lord,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the Confidential Report of the Half-Yearly Inspection of the 78th Highlanders. The General Commanding-in-Chief has derived the greatest gratification in the perusal of your lordship’s highly favourable Report of this noble regiment, which, notwithstanding a long period of Indian service, has maintained a state of discipline and efficiency which leaves no doubt that it will soon attain all its former excellence.

“His Royal Highness entirely approves of the officers and men being permitted to retain their beards until the ensuing spring.

“I have, &c.,

(Signed)

“W. F. FORSTER,

“Deputy-Adjutant-General.

“Major-General Viscount Melville, K.C.B., Edinburgh.”

The concluding paragraph had reference to a recommendation I had made, in consequence of the removal of the 78th from a warm to a cold climate.

In the month of January I obtained a short leave of absence for the purpose of visiting my wife and daughter, who had remained in Staffordshire. I had not been more than a few days at Callingwood, when intelligence reached me of the death of my cousin, General Sir Thomas Makdougall Brisbane, Bart., G.C.B. and G.C.H., at his seat near Largs, in Ayrshire. He was a very distinguished officer, and was recalled with his division from North America, when Napoleon escaped from Elba. It arrived too late for the battle of Waterloo, but when it reached Paris he was desired to parade his regiments in two long lines. When the Duke of Wellington appeared, after gazing at the troops for some time, he exclaimed, "Had I had these men at Waterloo, I should not have wanted the assistance of the Prussians."

In 1821 Sir Thomas was, on the recommendation of the Duke of Wellington, appointed Governor of New South Wales, the arduous duties of which post he administered during four years. With reference to this appointment my cousin used to tell, that when walking one day arm in arm with the Duke he happened to remark, that he would gladly accept the Governorship of New South Wales, being tired of inaction. The Duke replied that he would write to Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, on the subject. Not many days after, the Duke, meeting him, with a hearty laugh said, "Do you know, Sir Thomas, what Lord Bathurst writes me this morning? That

he wants one that will govern not the heavens but the earth in New South Wales." Sir Thomas replied warmly, "Your grace can testify all the years I have had the honour to serve under you in the Peninsula whether I have ever suffered my scientific predilection to interfere with my military duties." "Certainly not, certainly not," replied the great Captain. "I shall write his lordship that, on the contrary, you were never in one instance absent or late, morning, noon, or night; and that, in addition, you kept the time of the army."

Some idea of the labours which my cousin voluntarily undertook in New South Wales in addition to his duties as Governor, may be formed from the fact that he fixed the positions of, and catalogued, 7385 stars, scarcely known to astronomers. For this great work, "The Brisbane Catalogue of Stars," he received the Copley Medal, awarded by the Royal Society. At his residence at Paramatta he established a large Observatory, filled with the best and most expensive instruments.

On the death of Sir Walter Scott he was elected President of the Royal Society at Edinburgh, and a town named after him in Australia now gives a title to a Colonial Bishop.

In 1819 Sir Thomas married the heiress of Sir H. Hay Makdougall, of Makerstoun, the issue of the marriage being two sons and two daughters, all of whom predeceased him. At his death the baronetcy became extinct, the Brisbane estates passing to the only son of my uncle, Major Charles Brisbane, formerly in the 34th Regiment, who died in 1844.

I returned to Fort George in the month of February, but had only rejoined a few days when orders were received for the 78th to move immediately to Edinburgh.

In return for the great kindness and hospitality shown to the regiment, the officers had in the month of November given a grand ball at Inverness, to which everybody in the neighbourhood was invited. It went off very well, an instrumental band, led by Mr. Lowe, and the regimental band, under Mr. Smalley, playing alternately, with pipe music occasionally for the reels. Amongst those present were Lord and Lady Lovat, the Master of Lovat, the Hon. Colonel Fraser, the Hon. James Grant, the Hon. Lewis Grant, the Hon. George Grant, the Hon. T. C. Bruce, Sir William Mackenzie, of Coul, Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, of Gairloch, Sir James Mackenzie, of Seatwell, and Lady Anne Mackenzie, Sir A. P. Gordon Cumming, of Altyre, and Sir Henry Havelock.

On Friday, the 24th February, the 78th left Fort George by rail, starting at a very early hour. It was late when we reached the capital of Scotland, and as extraordinary preparations had been made for the reception of the regiment, I cannot do better than quote the words of the account published afterwards in the *Weekly Scotsman*, an excellent newspaper :—

“Entry of the 78th Highlanders into Edinburgh.

“The gallant 78th—the heroes of India, and the survivors of beleaguered Lucknow—arrived in

Edinburgh yesterday from Fort George, and received a welcome from the inhabitants of 'Auld Reekie,' which should they live to be heroes of 'a hundred fights,' they will assuredly never forget. An additional interest—if such were possible—was imparted to the event by the long absence of the Highlanders in India. Twenty years ago next July they left Scotland, and there seemed to exist, at the time of their return home, a few months since, a general feeling that Edinburgh should be the first city to welcome them back. Their quarters, however, were first established in the remote garrison of Fort George; yet in spite of the interval caused by their sojourn there, the enthusiasm of their reception last evening looked as though they were stepping for the first time on Scottish soil after their long labours and glorious victories in the East.

"The entry was a perfect triumph. As five o'clock, the hour of their expected arrival approached, the city bells commenced to ring out joyful chimes, and people hurried about to secure good positions along the route from Waverley Bridge station to the Castle. The town was in a state of universal excitement. With one or two exceptions all the city companies of Volunteer Rifles and Artillerymen assembled on parade for the purpose of lining the streets, and the Midlothian Coast Artillery and Leith Rifles were also present to take their share of duty.

"At five o'clock the volunteers formed in order along Waverley Bridge, Princes Street, and the Mound, the Midlothian Artillery marshalling at the station gates. Thus an almost unbroken line

stretched from the bridge up to the head of the Mound, and by gentle persuasion managed to keep the people in order. The streets at this time wore a remarkably animated appearance. Every window commanding a view of the line of route was occupied, and it seemed as though the entire population were concentrated in the space between Waverley Bridge and the foot of Bank Street. On the housetops in Princes Street hundreds of spectators were collected, and every available standing-point was occupied. There could not have been less than from 50,000 to 60,000 persons assembled. On the station platform there was also a considerable number of privileged persons waiting to give the first welcome to the 78th, the Lord Provost and Dean of Guild being in attendance, as representing the city. The bands of the County Militia and Midlothian Artillery were also at the station, near the entrance gates.

“The Highlanders had left Fort George at an early hour, in a special train of twenty-eight carriages, and several telegrams were received, noting the progress of their journey. The train reached Perth at thirty-seven minutes past two p.m., Larbert at thirty-one minutes past four, and Polmont at forty-five minutes past four; and at twenty minutes past five a message was received that the train would reach Edinburgh punctually at half-past five. This intelligence, which soon became generally known, raised expectation to the highest pitch, and the words ‘They are coming!’ ‘Here they are!’ were continuously spoken during the remaining ten minutes. They came at last; punctually to the minute the train glided up to

the platform, amidst deafening cheers within and without the station. The carriage doors were quietly opened, and the Ross-shire Buffs were in an instant welcomed to Edinburgh as old familiar friends. Some of them recognized relatives from whom they had been long separated, and the warmth of their greeting was most touching.

“On Colonel Ewart stepping out of his carriage the Lord Provost advanced, and addressed to him a few words of congratulation and welcome, to which the gallant Colonel briefly responded. The men seemed remarkably pleased, and not a little surprised at the warmth of their reception; but it was not till they got outside the station that they were able to realize how deeply the heart of the people was stirred. Considerable delay occurred in getting the regiment in marching order, but the bands resolving not to let the enthusiasm abate, struck up several spirited airs, amongst them ‘Within a mile o’ Edinburgh toon,’ and ‘See the conquering hero comes.’ The horses and baggage having at last been taken out of the train, the bagpipes sounded, and the men forming four deep marched out of the station, preceded by the bands of the volunteers and militia playing ‘Auld lang syne.’

“A tremendous shout of welcome burst forth from the spectators as the first of the ‘belted plaids’ were seen, and hats and handkerchiefs were waved joyfully from every window. The regiment at first marched along pretty quickly between the volunteer lines, and got the length of Princes Street without any difficulty, but here they came to a dead stop. The cause was very


evident. The Edinburgh Rifle Corps, under the command of Major Davidson, instead of effecting a junction with the lines of the Midlothian Artillery, had kept apart, and left the route for about 100 yards totally unpreserved. The consequence was, immediately upon reaching Princes Street, so great was the pressure of the people, that the further progress of the 78th was for some minutes barred. The bands ceased playing, and it required all the efforts of the pioneers to set matters right. The pressure at this point was immense, and the regiment had fairly to fight their way through the dense crowd which overwhelmed them with manifestations of friendship. At least a quarter of an hour elapsed before the 78th could move on at a reasonable pace, and when they at last found their way into Princes Street, the enthusiasm of the populace was unbounded. A number of the gallant Highlanders were 'relieved' of their guns by obliging friends, and one athletic civilian, making a dash at the regimental band, seized hold of the big drum, and hoisting it aloft, marched on beside the regiment, much to the astonishment of the bandmaster. There were two or three affecting instances during the march along Princes Street, of 'auld acquaintances' revived, and one gallant fellow who recognized in the crowd a sister he had not seen for many years, gave way to deep emotion. When proceeding up the Mound another crush took place, which caused another halt and delay, and some of the 78th began to express audible fears that they would not reach their quarters that night. It was seven o'clock—very nearly dark—before the last of the Highlanders

were safe in the Castle, the reception accorded to the regiment at all points of the route being of the most gratifying character. How the 'wives and families' managed to get safe through the crowd to the Castle we cannot say, but on reaching their destination—burdened with all sorts of portable luggage—they were treated with very great consideration and kindness.

"Perhaps the High Street, from whose towering 'lands' many generations have looked down on celebrations of various kinds, never exhibited a more picturesque spectacle than when, in the deep shadows of 'gloaming,' the different companies, surrounded by their clamorous admirers, wound up the Castle Hill, from every window of which hands waved and voices shouted welcome. There was no abatement of the warmth of the reception, till the last straggling baggage cart entered the esplanade. About seven the immense multitude of spectators quietly dissolved."

It was late before I was able to get the regiment comfortably settled for the night; but, fortunately, the Rev. James Millar, his daughter Miss Millar, and other kind friends, took charge of the soldiers' wives and little ones, for whom they had provided a good tea. No quarters were ready for the officers, so when everything had been done that was requisite, I adjourned to an hotel in Princes Street, taking care to leave my address with the sergeant-major and sergeant of the guard; it was fortunate that I did so.

What time it was I cannot exactly say, but I had not been long in bed when I was called up, a messenger having arrived with the alarming



information that the Castle was on fire! In a few moments I was dressed, and ran rapidly up the Mound. To my horror I found that the news was not only too true, but that the fire was close to the magazine, having broken out in one of the rooms handed over for the use of the married people. Fortunately I possessed a first-rate sergeant-major, and there being luckily a good supply of water the flames were soon got under, and the fire confined to the room in which it originated. It was a most anxious half-hour, and most thankful was I when success crowned our efforts and I could see that all danger was at an end. The inhabitants of Edinburgh little knew the escape they had that night, for the effects of an explosion of the powder in the magazine would have been terrible. On the following morning a strict inquiry was made, and it was discovered that the fire had originated from the following cause. One of the rooms into which the soldiers' wives had been put for the night was without a grate, it having been taken down for repair, and a thoughtless woman foolishly lit a fire upon the hearthstone. This soon of course became quite hot, and set fire to the beams. After my experience of this night, I strongly recommend every one to use ash-pans, more especially in old buildings, where the hearthstones are not unfrequently cracked.—“*Verbum sapientibus.*”

Shortly after my arrival in Edinburgh I was joined by my wife, and we took possession of the old “Governor’s House,” a portion of which, however, was occupied by the Fort-Major, a very

worthy man with a large family, named Anderson. The view from the windows at the top was magnificent; but who does not know Edinburgh, that queen of cities?


In the month of April the inhabitants of Edinburgh decided upon giving a dinner to the whole of the 78th Regiment. It took place in the Corn Exchange on the 24th April; and as it was an important event in the annals of the Ross-shire Buffs, I venture to insert a full description of what took place on the occasion, quoting the words of a local newspaper of the period.

CHAPTER IV.

Grand Banquet to the Ross-shire Buffs.

THE Edinburgh banquet to the gallant 78th Highlanders came off on Tuesday evening, in the Corn Exchange, with a brilliance and success which showed how fervent is the gratitude and how deep the respect entertained by all sections of the community towards the heroic avengers of Cawnpore, and the saviours of our Indian empire. As soon as the committee had begun their labours, their exertions were heartily seconded by contributions of rare, ancient, or valuable articles from gentlemen in various parts of the country, for the appropriate embellishment of the hall. The War Secretary, on being applied to, at once placed the resources of the Castle armoury at the disposal of the committee; the Duke of Athole sent a magnificent Highland bull's head, and a number of deerskins; six large Scotch fir-trees were brought from the Duke of Buccleuch's plantations at Dalkeith; and stags' and rams' heads, eagles, and other Highland emblems were contributed by Captain Ballantyne, Mr. Tunnock, Captain Maccallum, Mr. Glen, bagpipe-maker, and other gentlemen. These, along with selections of ancient Scotch armour and weapons from the Castle

and elsewhere, were formed into a gigantic Highland trophy, draperied with folds of the Mackenzie tartan, and brilliantly illuminated, which was placed at the north end of the hall. The centre and sides of the trophy were adorned with circular radii of burnished small arms, which were set upon pink drapery, and cast back again the light poured upon them by various-shaped gas devices placed in front of them. Above, radiant in golden letters, were the words, "Welcome 78th," and the motto of the regiment, "Cuidich'n Righ," the whole surmounted by the royal crown of Scotland blazing in gas, surrounded by a wreath of green and gold foliage. The centre of the southern wall was graced by a corresponding oriental trophy, which, as beseemed its origin, had a still more rich and ornate appearance. The centre-piece was the dark hide of a splendid yak, or wild bull of Chinese Tartary, which had fallen under the rifle of Colonel Dewar; and around it were grouped a magnificent lion's skin with head and tusks preserved, and skins of tigers, leopards, and other eastern animals. Upon this background was artistically displayed a profusion of oriental weapons and ornaments, including two very fine sets of Persian chain-armour, lent by Sir John McNeill. The summit of the trophy was topped with a blazing star (corresponding to the crown at the opposite end), supported by the initials V. and A.; and behind them, twinkling in an azure sky, numerous silver stars were more dimly visible through the massive foliage of the eastern palm. These palm branches, together with a large number of rare and beautiful exotics which



graced the galleries and tables, and an inexhaustible supply of bay leaves, which filled up ornamentally the interstices in the various designs, fringed the numerous circular arrangements of swords, daggers, pistols, and bayonets, and ran in a continuous evergreen cord around the hall, supporting at intervals knapsacks and accoutrements of the 78th, were kindly supplied by Professor Balfour and Mr. McNab, from the Botanical Gardens. Mr. D. O. Hill, to whose artistic genius and good taste, the committee and the public are indebted for the admirable arrangement of the decorations, in thorough harmony in all their details with the character and object of the banquet, sent in two very fine pieces of antique Arras tapestry, which were hung behind the chairs of the Lord Provost and croupier, thus forming the centre-pieces of the west and east sides of the hall.

The general appearance of the exchange, when garnished with its military and hunting trophies, lighted up by innumerable decorative gaseliers, and animated by the forms of brave men, and the bright eyes of fair women, was that of some vast baronial hall of the olden time, where the armed retainers of a powerful chief had been assembled to celebrate their victorious return from some well-fought field.

About fifty flags, the colours of the old militia regiments of Scotland were also employed in the decorations, and the principal actions in which the 78th had won its laurels were emblazoned, and ran round the hall in the following order—Assaye, Maida, Java, Khooshab, Mohammera,

Ahwaz, Futtehpore, Aoung, Pondoo Nuddee, Cawnpore, Oonao, Busseerut-Gunj, Bithoor, Mungulwar, Alumbagh, Lucknow, Bareilly, Boor-beake-Chowkey. In the centre of the archway on either side were displayed the national standard and the union jack. The chairs occupied by the Lord Provost and the croupier were covered with ancient heraldic devices; and behind that of the former were displayed the famous blue blanket and the orange colours of the city, with the civic mace and sword, and a number of the old halberts of the Lord Provost's guard.

By half-past four o'clock the whole of the ladies, as well as the civilian portion of the guests and entertainers were in their places; and about the same hour the gallant 78th, preceded by their famed band of pipers, left the Castle esplanade, and proceeded down to the Corn Exchange, amid the cheering of the enthusiastic crowds who watched and accompanied their footsteps. Arrived in the Grass Market, it was pleasant to witness the enthusiasm with which they were hailed by all classes of the population, and to see that many of the poorest dwellings were adorned with green boughs and homely flags, extemporized for the occasion to bid them welcome.

When the stirring strains of the "Pibroch of Dhonuil Dhu," as loud as eight 78th pipers' drones could blaw, were heard booming within the Exchange, announcing the arrival of the brave fellows, they were received with a cheer, long, loud, and hearty, accompanied by clapping of hands by the gentlemen, and waving of handkerchiefs by the ladies, and which was again and again renewed,

until the whole of the men of the regiment had taken their places. The scene presented by the hall at this moment was exceedingly picturesque and striking. The Highland soldiers filled the centre of the room, while the wings of the area were occupied by some 350 civilians, whose conventional black coats were relieved by a pretty copious sprinkling of volunteer uniforms; the galleries being filled with a brilliant assemblage of ladies, naval and military officers, and a decided minority of gentlemen in plain evening dress.

Among the occupants of the chairman's gallery were the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, chairman, supported on the right by Viscount Melville, Sir Hew Dalrymple, Bart., Colonel Ewart, C.B. (78th), Sir John Richardson, Bart., Captain D'Eyncourt, R.N., Lieut.-Colonel McIntyre, C.B. (78th), and Lieut.-Colonel Vassall (formerly in 78th): and on the left by Sir John Douglas, K.C.B., Vice-Admiral Hope Johnstone, Sir James Baird, Bart., Colonel Walter Hamilton, C.B., Major-General Richardson-Robertson, C.B., and the Rev. Dr. Lee. In this gallery were also Professor Aytoun, Lieut.-Colonel Lockhart (78th), Major Drummond Hay (78th), Major Mackenzie (78th), Lieut.-Colonel Bouverie (78th), Colonel Hope, Bailie Johnston, Bailie Grieve, Treasurer Greig, Captain Archer (78th), Captain St. George (78th), Captain Weekes (78th), and Captain Feilden (78th).

The right wing of the chairman's gallery was set apart for lady guests, specially invited, most of whom were the wives or relatives of officers in the army or navy. Among them were Mrs. Outram (the venerable mother of Sir James

Outram), Lady Elizabeth Douglas, Lady Henrietta D'Eyncourt, Mrs. Ewart, Mrs. Hamilton, Mrs. McIntyre, Mrs. and the Misses Stewart Mackenzie of Seaforth, Lady Douglas, Lady Burnett, Mrs. Vassall and Mrs. Hall Maxwell. Among the ladies on the left wing of the same platform were the Misses Neaves, Mrs. Blackwood, Mrs. Jackson, Mrs. Stewart Hay, Mrs. and Miss Cockburn, Mrs. Archibald McNeill, and Miss Moncreiff. Ladies were also accommodated in the south gallery, and in the wings of the croupier's gallery; and the wives of the married sergeants and soldiers of the regiment were placed on either side of the north gallery.

The Hon. Bouverie Primrose, C.B., discharged the duties of croupier, and on the right and left of the croupier's chair we observed Sir William Gibson-Craig, Bart., Colonel Skyring (R.E.), Colonel Tremayne (13th Light Dragoons), Colonel Geddes, C.B., Dr. Jee, C.B. (78th), Lieut.-Colonel Henry Hamilton, C.B. (78th), Keith Stewart-Mackenzie of Seaforth (the representative of the Earl of Seaforth by whom the Ross-shire Buffs were originally raised), Sir William Johnstone, Mr. Hall Maxwell, C.B., Colonel Anderson (R.A.), Colonel Maclean (R.A.), Dr. Douglas MacLagan, and Bailie Blackadder. In the same gallery were seated Mr. Butter of Fascally, Lieut.-Colonel Dewar, Captain Warren (78th), Captain Webster (78th), Lieutenant Barker (78th), the Rev. Mr. Millar, Garrison Chaplain, Mr. F. Abbot, Dean of Guild Mossman, Mr. Maclean of Ardgour, and others.

The following gentlemen (each assisted by

several stewards) acted as croupiers in the body of the hall, and took general charge of the nine long tables at which the guests were seated:—Mr. C. Jenner, Major Blackwood, Captain J. Ballantyne, Mr. T. G. Murray, W.S., Sheriff E. S. Gordon (Perth), Captain J. Gorrie, Adjutant A. T. Boyle, Mr. John Cay, and Mr. A. J. Russell.

The recently-formed band of the Midlothian Coast Artillery Volunteers was placed in the centre of the north gallery, and alternately with a choir selected from the members of the St. Cecilia Choral Society, conducted by Mr. T. M. Hunter, supplied appropriate musical accompaniments to the different toasts during the evening. The performances of both were warmly and deservedly applauded.

Mr. James Sinclair officiated as master of the ceremonies, in full Highland (Court) costume. His well-known ability as a toast-master contributed in no small degree to the success and enjoyment of that part of the entertainment.


The guests being seated, the Rev. Dr. Lee asked a blessing, and after dinner, the Rev. Mr. Millar returned thanks.

The Lord Provost rose, amidst loud cheers, to propose "The Queen." His lordship said,—Mr. Croupier, and gentlemen, I have to propose that you drink the health of her most gracious majesty the Queen—(cheers)—under whose beneficent and successful reign it is our privilege and our lot to dwell; a Queen beloved for her virtues, respected for the example which she sets in domestic life, and honoured and revered as sovereign of this great nation. (Cheers.) Amid the anxieties from

which none in that exalted position can be exempt, may it be the comfort of our gracious Queen that she enjoys so large a share of the affections, and the prayers, and the obedience of a loyal people. (Loud cheers.)

The toast was drunk with all the honours; and then the Lord Provost again rose, and said: Mr. Croupier, and gentlemen,—I have to propose that we drink to the health of the Prince Consort. (Applause.) Occupying a position of the highest eminence next to the throne, he has given to his country the benefit of that position in the only legitimate and successful manner in which its influence could be exercised. His Royal Highness has long been known as a patron of art; and he is giving us at this moment a new proof of his interest in the promotion of art and science, by his encouragement of the new International Exhibition for the promotion of art and science in connexion with industrial pursuits. (Loud cheers.)

The Chairman again rose, and said: Mr. Croupier, and gentlemen,—I have to propose that we drink the health of the Duke of Rothesay, and the other members of the royal family. (Cheers.) We cannot but feel the deepest interest in the young Prince, on whom the crown of this country is to descend, and his short stay among us in Edinburgh has increased that interest. (Applause.) We may join in the hope that the visit he is this week to pay by leaving the shores of Great Britain for an important colony, will promote real union between that colony and the mother country—that he will have a hearty reception, and return



in safety to his country and his home. (Loud cheers.)

The Lord Provost then said : I propose a toast which I know in this, as in every company, will be enthusiastically received—"The Navy and Army." (Applause.) We cannot now be called a military nation. We have neither a navy nor an army so large as to make us restless till they are employed. But we have important interests at stake. We have a commerce that circles the globe, and wide-spread colonial territories. We can scarce expect to be at peace with all the world, but that a surprise may come upon us from some quarter. The position we occupy among the nations of the world will not admit of our being unprepared. Though our army presents nowhere the idea of force, we know that it can be quickly concentrated, and made available to afford substantial help and to vindicate the country's honour when the hour of need arrives ; and this, gentlemen, must always be. (Applause.) While Britain continues one of the great powers, our army must be regarded as part of the substance of the British constitution. It imparts confidence, it inspires respect, it kindles patriotism. So with our fleets while they navigate the ocean. They are not now transporting troops, or convoying merchantmen, or blockading ports, or keeping off invaders ; but for all that, let us hope they are ready when the occasion requires ; and during the late war, we could not have a better testimony to their efficiency than the fact that the enemy would not give us the opportunity of an encounter with them at sea. The ascendancy which this

nation has acquired on the sea we must not abandon. (Applause.) It has grown through a long succession of ages, and has survived the death of hero after hero who have contributed to its splendour. We are proud of our naval history, and ever love our brave, impetuous, patriotic, warm-hearted seamen. We are delighted to see among us a naval officer, a member of one of our Scotch families, so much distinguished and respected in the country. I couple the toast of the Navy with the name of Admiral Hope Johnstone, and the Army with the well-known name of Lord Melville, who, though he has lately left the command of the forces in Scotland, we feel honoured by having here among us, as a token that the interest he has long taken in that branch of the service is undiminished. (Loud cheers.)

Vice-Admiral Hope Johnstone, who was received with loud cheering, said: My Lords and gentlemen, I have been requested to acknowledge this toast on the part of the Navy. My name has been connected with the toast not on account of any services that I have performed, and I fear that officers of my standing must be content hereafter to make way for younger men, possessed of physical and mental energy, capable of undertaking the most arduous duties. Indeed, I am reminded of this by the presence of my gallant friend and former shipmate, Captain D'Eyncourt, who was a midshipman in a ship-of-the-line which I commanded thirty years ago. (Applause.) At the same time, I do not hold out to him any great prospect of speedy promotion—(laughter)—for if we consider the number of

who have reached the age of fourscore years, it must be obvious that there is something particularly tough in the composition of their constitutions. (Renewed laughter.) Allow me, gentlemen, on the part of the navy in general to offer my most cordial thanks for the honour you have just done the profession. Naval men have at all times the greatest pleasure in meeting with their fellow-countrymen, especially on an occasion like this, when we have met to do honour to a distinguished regiment of the sister service. And with reference to the part of the world in which this regiment has been recently employed, it gave our profession the greatest satisfaction that a naval brigade, under the gallant and lamented Peel, had an opportunity of co-operating so harmoniously with the army in suppressing that monstrous rebellion — mutiny rather — and in avenging the atrocities that had been committed. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, when our duties call upon us to go to distant seas, and frequently to unhealthy climates, to protect our colonies and commerce, or to uphold the honour of our flag, you can scarcely understand the anxiety with which we look forward to the time when we can return home to receive a cordial welcome from our countrymen. We place high value on their good opinion, and we prize even more the good opinion of our fair countrywomen — (laughter and loud cheers) — many of whom we have the pleasure of seeing here this evening. And having had opportunities of meeting the fair sex in various parts of the world, and of varying complexion, both dark and light — (laughter) — I have no hesitation in

declaring that the members of that sex whom we have the pleasure of beholding here this evening, would throw all others into the shade. (Laughter and loud cheers.) Whatever may be the evolutions necessary hereafter in presence of a hostile fleet, of this I am certain, that every British Admiral will do his best to close with the enemy. (Cheers.) And then every officer, sailor, and marine will bear in mind the last signal hoisted by Nelson—(loud cheers)—when the result must be left to a higher Power. (Applause.)

Lord Melville said: I beg to offer my warmest acknowledgments, on behalf of the service to which I belong, for the terms in which the toast has been proposed, and for the reception with which it has met. I am well aware that on all public festive occasions the toast of the services is always warmly received; and if to-day it has met with more than usual cordiality, I am not surprised at it, when you have met to do honour to a gallant regiment which forms such a distinguished portion of the British army. The Lord Provost has told you that our army must be proportioned to the interests and extent of our empire. Nobody, however, who does not give minute attention to the subject is really aware of the long services to which the British infantry is liable abroad. And the regiment now present has been no exception. They have, perhaps, had a larger proportion of service in the East than any other regiment in her Majesty's service. But wherever it has been, the regiment has ever been distinguished; and I hope it ever will maintain the high reputation it at present enjoys. (Cheers.)


On whatever service, and in whatever country they are employed, I hope their countrymen and their fair countrywomen will never but have to applaud their conduct, their valour, their discipline, and their courage. (Cheers.) By their discipline and courage did this regiment achieve its triumphs under privations of no ordinary kind, and which nobody who has not been in India can understand. I hope that the British army will ever as well maintain its honour wherever it is employed, whether in fighting the country's battles abroad, or in upholding its constitution, laws, and liberties at home. (Applause.)

The Lord Provost, in giving the toast of the evening, said: I need not bespeak a kindly reception of the toast which it is now my privilege, as the Chairman of this banquet, to propose to you. Many of us will remember a Friday evening in February last, just two months ago, a stir and a crowd in our principal streets, windows, and every available space in our public buildings, along a certain line occupied by an assemblage who waited as if to receive some long-expected friends. (Cheers.) At length the martial sounds of the pipes were heard, and a Highland regiment was seen to approach, and to make its way with slow and interrupted progress to its quarters in the Castle. Strangers they were to most of us, the officers and the men, but the sight of that regiment stirred the liveliest feelings of gratitude and pride in this city, as it wended its way amidst deafening cheers and shouts of welcome. (Applause.) I daresay they will excuse us that their onward march was so much checked and impeded

by the kindness of friends—a result which the opposition of the foe, in the hour of battle, had not been able to accomplish. (Loud cheers.) It is to this same 78th Regiment, the Ross-shire Buffs, whose conduct and whose bravery have been known at Assaye and Maida, and Java and Khooshab, and Cawnpore and Lucknow, that on the part of our fellow-citizens I propose that we should now express our gratitude, and unite in wishing for its officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, health and prosperity. (Applause.) I am not going to speak of their early deeds of gallantry in the service of their country, although, in the presence of a chief of the Mackenzies, I might with propriety allude to the raising of the regiment by his ancestor, at the close of the last century, to join in the bloody and terrible battles of that period. But you will rather expect me, in the few sentences with which I preface this toast, to refer to that recent period with which we must specially associate the services this regiment so nobly rendered in India, when it formed part of the Allahabad movable column in 1857, in its successful advance upon Cawnpore, its passage of the Ganges into Oudh, and its subsequent operations till its arrival in Lucknow. (Applause.) Gentlemen, this regiment had highly distinguished itself in the brief but successful Persian campaign in '57, and had received from Lieut.-General Outram most flattering testimony to their gallant and patient endurance of fatigue under most trying circumstances. But peace was proclaimed, and the regiment bade adieu to Persia with many wishes expressed and

indulged for a time of rest, and a happy meeting with their families and friends. Scarcely, however, had the vessel which conveyed them come to her moorings in the harbour at Bombay, than they received intelligence of the widespread mutiny in the Bengal native army, which threatened the existence of our power in India. British troops could not then be spared for rest, and this regiment was, without loss of a day, sent to join the rest of the little force at Allahabad, under the leadership of a man whose name will never be mentioned but with the deepest, warmest feelings of gratitude and respect, Henry Havelock. (Loud applause.) It would not be easy to exaggerate the difficulties of the task entrusted to him. The disbanded soldiery of Oudh had declared their independence—the country was swarming with troops which had been well armed and disciplined by ourselves—the rainy season had commenced—fields were turned into morasses—guns could scarcely be moved along the roads—Cawnpore had fallen into the hands of the rebels, and a small but resolute band of our countrymen were doing their best to defend their lives and those of their wives and children. In these circumstances that little force, the mere shadow of an army, destitute at first of cavalry and horse artillery, had to hold the vast tract of territory between the scene of mutiny and Calcutta, and to relieve two important beleaguered towns. For one of these they were too late—helpless women and children had, by an act of foul treachery, fallen victims at Cawnpore to relentless cruelty and savage hatred; and, men of the 78th! this

could not be without its influence upon you, while it a thousandfold increased our anxieties that you should succeed in rescuing the garrison of Lucknow, and those who took refuge there, from a similar fate. And I need not tell you our joy that every obstacle was overcome—cold, heat, rain, sleepless nights, fatigue, hunger, disease,—despite all these, the march was onward, and the enemy was beaten in every battle. In not mentioning the services of other regiments, let it not be supposed I disparage them. (Hear, hear.) But it is with the 78th we have to do this evening, and it is not without pride we trace the part they acted and the work they did in this short campaign. (Applause.) The enemy is encamped in a place of apparent safety, and the advance of the little army is stopped, but the long and well-directed shots from the Enfield rifles of the 78th take full effect, and the foe is put to flight. A battery which our artillery has not been able to subdue is doing serious execution, and must be silenced. In unwavering line marches this gallant regiment—the discharge of grape comes fierce and fast—but there is a volley of defiance, a spirit-stirring cheer—the heart of the rebels falters and fails them, and the guns are captured. (Cheers.) A village, affording shelter behind walls and windows to practised marksmen—forms the next obstruction. That village must be taken; the command is given, and with rapid tread through the broken ground, amid the fire of musketry, onward goes that living wall to conquer or to die. Then, with the pibroch sounding and the bayonet's charge, there is a rush—a



shout—a brief personal struggle—and the position is gained. (Loud cheers.) And so from combat to combat, till at length the Alumbagh is taken, and then comes the last march of fire and death, exposed to a shower of bullets from unseen enemies, stationed at every housetop and at every corner, till the column of relief, with Outram and Havelock at its head, enters the Residency, bringing safety at least, if not deliverance. (Cheers.) Through all this peril and privation, what is it this 78th Regiment displays but dauntless courage in the hour of danger, ready submission in every hardship, and a determination to win the day, which ensures success? (Applause.) Many a gallant officer, many a noble soldier, were struck down in this conflict when the foe so greatly outnumbered them—many a plumed bonnet and tartan plaid were left on those blood-stained Indian fields; but the regiment has a place in the grateful recollection of its country, as composed of men who perilled their lives to rescue the helpless—who succeeded in saving them from a dreadful fate, and who nobly upheld the honour of our arms. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, while we think with regret of the fallen, let us remember with gratitude those who were spared—many of them are among us. I couple this toast with the name of Colonel Ewart, who, though not in command of the 78th till recently, was with the 93rd Highlanders at the final relief of Lucknow, and who evinces in his person the dangers through which he passed, and which he cannot be said to have escaped, and wears on his breast tokens of the valour he has, both in the Crimea and in India, so

nobly displayed. (The toast was received with the utmost enthusiasm by the company.)

Colonel Ewart, who was received with loud and long-protracted cheering, said: My Lord Provost, ladies, and gentlemen, in the absence of our gallant Colonel, Lieut.-General Sir William Chalmers, it devolves upon me to respond to this toast. In the name of the officers of the 78th Highlanders, I return you our warmest thanks for the kind and hearty manner in which you have drunk our healths. (Cheers.) My gallant friend and comrade, Sergeant-Major Pocock, will rise presently to thank you for the way in which you have also drunk the healths of the non-commissioned officers and men. (Cheers.) It affords me very great pleasure to be present here to-day, because to every commanding-officer it is a great happiness to see his officers and men enjoying themselves. (Hear, hear, and applause.) But, my lord, and all here present, I assure you that had it been left to myself I should not have been here to-day; because I feel that I am preventing those gallant and distinguished officers who led the 78th in action from now coming to the front. (Applause.) I had not the honour of fighting with the 78th in India; but I am proud to say I was there with the 93rd—(loud cheering)—and that I had the happiness to meet for the first time at Lucknow the regiment which I have now the honour to command. It affords me the greatest pleasure, as I am sure it must all of you, to see here to-day that most gallant officer, Colonel Walter Hamilton—(cheers)—who, as senior Lieut.-Colonel of the 78th, led them in so many of those fights of

which all of us have heard. I think it right also to mention that there are here to-day three other officers, who, in consequence of their seniors being promoted to higher and more important commands, have led the 78th in action. (Applause.) You have here Lieut.-Colonel Henry Hamilton—(cheers)—Lieut.-Colonel McIntyre—(cheers)—and Lieut.-Colonel Lockhart—(cheers)—all of whom at different times commanded the 78th in action. I have been asked how many there are here to-day who fought with the 78th in India. I am proud and happy to say that there are fifteen officers and 350 men around me who fought abroad. (Cheers.) I have no doubt when I say that, the ladies will look round and endeavour to count the beards. (Laughter and cheers.) I am sorry to say that, some time during the month of March, some evil-disposed person spread a report that it was the intention of the commanding officer to take off the beards on the 1st of April—(loud laughter and cheers)—and the result of this was, that many of my gallant comrades around me, rather than be made April fools of by the Colonel, immediately shaved their beards off. (Renewed laughter.) I don't know who it was that spread this most abominable report—or rather, I should say, perpetrated this dreadful “shave”—(laughter)—but I am sure that the ladies will agree with me that he was a most barbarous fellow indeed. (Laughter and cheers.) I can assure the ladies that, notwithstanding that they do not see 365 beards, there are that number present who fought with the 78th in India. (Loud applause.) I am sure you will excuse me from speaking at greater

length to this toast, because I wish to bring to the front that gallant officer who brought the 78th home from India—I mean Lieut.-Colonel Henry Hamilton. (Loud cheers.)

Lieut.-Colonel Henry Hamilton then said,—Called on as I have been by Colonel Ewart, in kind consideration of the lengthened period which I have served with the 78th Highlanders, it would ill become me to manifest any backwardness in endeavouring to respond to the call, and in endeavouring to express the thanks of the officers for the honour you have this day conferred on them. (Applause.) It is thirty years and more since, in my boyhood, I joined the ranks of the 78th. (Applause.) I have served with them during the best years of my youth and manhood, and I have ever found with them a happy moveable home. (Cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, I must refer to your own hearts to enable you to estimate in some degree what must be my feelings when I see this large and brilliant assemblage in this enlightened city met here to do honour to my much-loved regiment. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, you all know that the army is not a lucrative profession. (A laugh.) The pecuniary and tangible rewards that fall to the lot of soldiers are very few. (Hear, hear.) The great honour that a soldier looks to, and which alone he desires, is the consciousness of having done his duty, and the approbation and sympathy of his fellow-countrymen. (Cheers.) That the 78th should have been able under circumstances of difficulty to do their duty in such a way as to elicit your approval must ever be amongst the sources of the

deepest gratitude and thankfulness to Him who alone teaches the hands to war and the fingers to fight. (Applause.) But the mode in which you have expressed that approbation, and the kindness and warmth of heart, and the more than cordiality with which you have welcomed this regiment on its arrival in Edinburgh, and now still further manifested by this magnificent entertainment, must ever be a source of the highest pride and gratification to every person connected with the corps, and should lay each one of us under lasting and real obligations to you. (Cheers.) Your kindness to the 78th will speak to a wider circle than perhaps you originally intended. It will tell the British army in general, and those who have not yet joined the ranks of the British Army, that under no possible circumstances, and under no lapse of time, will the British soldier ever cease to be an object of interest and regard to his fellow-countrymen at home. (Loud cheers.) This is peculiarly manifest in the case of the 78th Highlanders; for at the time when those events took place to which allusion has been made, the 78th had not recently left your shores. A long period had elapsed since the 78th Highlanders had been seen in Scotland—a time enough for those who were infants in arms when they left, to reach manhood. A great European war had arisen, and in that war the 78th had not the honour of being engaged. They were then serving at a comparatively unknown station, and they might well have imagined that, as a regiment, they were forgotten. But thanks to your long-enduring sympathies and warm hearts, it was not

with you, in regard to them, "out of sight, out of mind." (Loud applause.) Those events arose to which the Lord Provost has alluded, and the progress of the 78th was watched with as intense an interest, and their successes hailed with as lively a sympathy, as if they had only lately left these shores, with all the pain of a recent parting still fresh in your recollection—(cheers)—thus showing that under no possible circumstances would the British soldier ever be forgotten by his friends at home. (Applause.) The knowledge of this would always be an incentive to active exertion and patient endurance—not only to the 78th, but to soldiers in general—in all times of peril and difficulty. The 78th Highlanders cannot but feel that, in the succession of entertainments they have received, and in the manifestations of public feeling which they have witnessed from time to time since their return to this country, a sort of undue prominence has been given to them over their comrades in arms in other regiments who served with them in the same operations, and who in common with them endeavoured to do their duty. (Loud cheers.) The 78th are fully conscious that this is owing to the peculiar circumstances in which they have been placed. A national regiment, just returned to Scotland after a lengthened period of absence, going first to the county whose name they bore, and then coming to the capital of Scotland, this great city, they have, as it were, fallen into the arms of their friends—(loud cheers)—and they are fully conscious that the cordiality with which they have been received is to be attributed, not to any

superior merit of theirs, but to that warmth of feeling, that generosity of sentiment, and that largeness of heart, which has ever characterized the people of Scotland in general and the people of Edinburgh in particular. (Loud cheers.) I have, ladies and gentlemen, in the name of my brother officers, to return you thanks for the manner in which they have been received. (Applause.)

Sergeant-Major Pocock then said (the men standing while he spoke): My Lord Provost, ladies and gentlemen, in the name of the non-commissioned officers and men of the 78th, I return you our most sincere and most grateful thanks for the great honour you have this day conferred upon us. I assure you we feel deeply sensible of the undeserved kindness which has everywhere been bestowed upon us, and well, indeed, have we been rewarded for all our toils and labours in distant lands, by the hearty welcome which has been extended to us on our return; which shows that we have not been forgotten by our friends at home, and that our deeds, unworthy as they are, have been appreciated by our countrymen. And we must not take credit to ourselves for our success in the field; we must give that credit to those who reared us, and instilled into our minds the principles of obedience, courage, and discipline. To the women of Scotland be all that honour that is due to a mother for the success of her sons. (Loud cheers.) You have shown that you approve of what we have done, and I hope that if ever the occasion should arise, we may have

the opportunity of proving in the defence of our fatherland, and by the side of the noble volunteers of Scotland, that your confidence has not been misplaced. (Cheers.) On looking around us on this occasion, there seems to be only one thing wanting to make the enjoyment of this day complete, and that is the presence of one who has shared with us most nobly the fatigues and dangers of war, who oft has led us on to victory, and whose image is enshrined beneath those ribbons which adorn the breasts of many here; I mean the brave Outram. (Loud and enthusiastic cheering.) We feel that he ought to have been here this day, sharing in our honours, as he has often partaken in our glories. May he soon return to his honoured mother—(loud cheers)—to receive that soldier's welcome which Scotland this day extends to her returning sons! (Cheers.) Accept, my Lord Provost, ladies and gentlemen, the most sincere gratitude of all the members of the Ross-shire Buffs for your kind reception of us this day. (Loud applause.)

Colonel Ewart then said: Officers and men of the 78th, there is a word of command which Colonel Walter Hamilton has always found you ready to respond to in time of war; I now call upon you to respond to it in time of peace. The word of command I have to give you is, "Charge." (Loud laughter and applause.) Officers, non-commissioned officers, and comrades of the 78th, I have now to ask you to drink the health of the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council, and our other entertainers here to-night. (Cheers.) The Lord Provost has alluded to an

evening about two months back. I can assure you my lord, ladies, and gentlemen, that we never can forget the reception we met with on our entry into Edinburgh; and I am equally sure that the recollection of this entertainment will never be effaced from the memory of any of us; it will indeed be quite impossible to forget the kindness which we have met with in the ancient capital of Scotland. (Cheers.) The Lord Provost has been good enough to say that this regiment has gained the good opinion of every one for its valour abroad. May I express a hope that when the time comes for us to leave this city, we shall be able to carry away with us the good opinion of the inhabitants. The Lord Provost has alluded to the gallant actions of the 78th in India; but, soldiers, we must all of us remember that there are still sterner actions to be fought than those against the enemy; and those are the battles we have to fight against ourselves. We must all take care, 78th, that we are not killed by kindness in this city—(laughter and cheers)—and I have reason to hope that we shall successfully fight these battles, for I will say that I never saw a better-conducted set of men. (Loud cheers.) I have commanded this regiment but a short time, but I have already found that it is a great happiness to command the Ross-shire Buffs, because I have no trouble with either officers or men. I will now ask you, 78th, to drink a bumper to the health of the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of Edinburgh, and our other kind entertainers here this evening. (Cheers.)

The Lord Provost briefly replied. He said :

The object of the corporation is the peace and the well-being of the city; and we know that this is best promoted by a kindly feeling subsisting among all classes of our fellow-citizens, civil and military. To you, men of the 78th, accustomed to order and discipline, we look for the best example. We hope your stay here may be long, and that it may be accompanied by the best feeling between you and your fellow-citizens.

Doctor Douglas Maclagan proposed "The Defence and Relief of Lucknow." After alluding in eloquent terms to the gallant defence of the Residency by the 32nd Regiment, for the long period of eighty-seven days prior to the arrival of the 78th, he proceeded in the following terms: The defence of Lucknow, what a procession of heroes does it bring before us! In the first place in our memories—alas! that it is only in our memories—is that great and good man, for he well merits both these epithets, to whose profound sagacity and foresight, under Providence, the garrison of Lucknow was indebted for being able to hold its position at all—that good man, whose kind and affectionate disposition, whose largeness of heart, and whose power of attracting the love of all with whom he came in contact, have secured for him the deepest reverence of his countrymen—I mean Sir Henry Lawrence. (Loud cheers.) I do not know that in the annals of history anywhere, is an episode more touching or more teaching than the account we have received of the last hours of that heroic man. His frame attenuated by previous exertion, and grievously shattered by a hideous wound, and not one in that chamber of

death, he alone excepted, remaining unmoved, and he amidst all his agony calmly giving directions for being succeeded, both in his civil and military capacity; and recommending particularly, with a thoughtful and kindly heart, to the attention and protection of his soldiers the ladies that were immured in that garrison—(cheers)—those ladies who so patiently bore privations that the female frame was never meant to encounter—and then, in the face of death, calmly reading from his own experience the solemn lesson of the worthlessness of all human distinctions, of which he himself had reaped so large a share. (Applause.) Turn we now from Henry Lawrence to his gallant successor, Sir John Inglis, who calmly stepped into the place made vacant by the fall of his chief, and who undertook the heavy responsibilities of a great and most important command, who shared the fatigues and dangers of the siege for three tedious months, and who gave that able record of its events in a despatch of which I do not know whether to admire most its graphic simplicity of style, or that admirable sense of justice exhibited towards the exertions of every one involved in the campaign, but himself. (Cheers.) In speaking of the relief of Lucknow, the name of our gallant countryman, James Neill, whom I am happy to have called my friend, and who fell, alas! in the hour of victory, must not be forgotten. (Cheers.) And now an honoured shade passes before us; with that event the name of Havelock is inseparably connected. It is not possible for me adequately to pronounce the eulogy of that departed hero, but it may be

summed up in this brief sentence—that Havelock combined in himself the gallant soldier and the pious Christian. (Cheers.) From no page of history can we draw better lessons than that which is given us by the late Henry Havelock, lessons which speak not only to every soldier, but to every civilian also in this place. We all of us have duties in our own sphere to perform, and long and patiently did Havelock perform comparatively subordinate duties in his regiment, without any of the appearance or promise of the distinction which he afterwards attained; but the hour came, and with it came the man; and in his life we have the lesson taught to us, that if we will do our duties, however subordinate or tedious they may be, faithfully, honestly, and conscientiously, our reward, by God's blessing, will come at last. (Cheers.) And there is another lesson taught us by Havelock's life, that a man will serve his Queen none the worse that he remembers to serve his Maker; and that he will not have more fear of the enemy, from having learned to fear his God. (Cheers.) With Havelock the name of Outram will ever be connected. (Loud cheers, particularly from the 78th.) Aye, let them ring out that cheer—(renewed cheering)—there is a double reason for it; we are delighted and honoured to have among the spectators this evening the mother that bore him. (Great cheering from the soldiers, who rose almost *en masse*.) I say that never fell music softer or sweeter on the ear of a British matron, than that loud acclaim falls on her ear from the voices of the soldiers he commanded, in testimony to the worth of her

heroic son. (Renewed cheers.) Is there, my lord, one in this place who has not read of the remarkable occurrence which took place when Outram joined his forces to Havelock's, and when, in virtue of superior rank he was entitled to take command; but when, in order not to detract one iota from Havelock's fame, he refused to take the command, and took his place there merely in his own civil capacity of Commissioner for Oudh, and as a volunteer in the army? (Loud cheers.) Who is there that, when he read that, did not feel his heart swell with honest pride, at being able to call that man his fellow-subject? or who, when he thinks of that, will dare to say that the days of chivalry are gone? (Loud cheers.) Lastly, my lord, the relief of Lucknow brings before us that noble and gallant officer who now commands in chief her Majesty's army in India. (Cheers.) It is not for me to pronounce any eulogy on one whose services in every quarter of the globe had acquired for him a military renown which had stamped him as one of the foremost soldiers of the age. (Cheers.) His own good sword had cut for himself his way to a seat among the hereditary legislators of the country, and his career of glory had been like the river that gave him his title, small, indeed, at the beginning, but deepening, strengthening, and widening as it flowed. (Cheers.) I know, my lord, how imperfectly I have discharged my duty. (Cries of No.) I know that in mentioning those names it must occur to many in this room to ask why I have not mentioned names equally nobly and heroically distinguished amidst these great achievements. But time would

not permit, and your patience would not suffer me to enumerate them all. I would include all others at once in this, that I have named to you officers worthy to lead these men, and the others were men worthy to follow these officers. (Cheers.) When I have said it, I have exhausted my vocabulary of praise ; but I must still select one individual to connect with this toast, I mean the gallant officer who commanded the 78th Highlanders under Sir Henry Havelock, and who so successfully led this gallant regiment through so many dangers and difficulties—namely, Colonel Walter Hamilton. (Loud cheering from the men.) There is not, I am sure, a single name that could be more appropriately connected with this toast, and it is with great pleasure I call upon you to drink to “The Defence and Relief of Lucknow,” and to the health of Colonel Walter Hamilton. (The toast was most enthusiastically received by the whole company.)

Colonel Walter Hamilton said: He felt most grateful for the manner in which his health had been received, united with the defenders and deliverers of Lucknow. Well did he remember the night they left the Residency. While standing round the watch-fires, Sir James Outram called out the regiment, and addressed to them the following words: “Soldiers, you had the honour of leading the advance into Lucknow, and for that reason you have been selected to form the rear-guard in leaving.” He had much pleasure in being present at this entertainment, and begged to return thanks for the honour done him.

The toast of “The North British Staff” was



proposed by the Croupier, and responded to by Sir John Douglas, who, in returning thanks, said, that when in the Crimea he had often heard it remarked that the only thing wanted to complete the Highland Brigade was the presence of the 78th.

The toast of "The Volunteers" was proposed by Sir John Douglas, and replied to by Sir James Baird; and that of "The Clergy of Scotland" by Sir William Gibson-Craig, the Rev. Dr. Robert Lee returning thanks. The Croupier gave "The Health of the Ladies," which was acknowledged by Professor Aytoun.

Colonel Henry Hamilton proposed the health of the Croupier, and the Hon. Bouverie F. Primrose, in returning thanks, said,—That he would address the men of the 78th as an humble comrade, as the Sovereign had enrolled the Civil Servants in the shape of a volunteer force. Whether it was in accordance with the regulations or not to cut off the beards, he would willingly give his own for one of those medals which the 78th wore upon their breast. He hoped that his courage would not be impugned when he said that he trusted they would never have occasion to be called out; not because he feared the enemy, but because he dreaded the terrible distress which an invasion would cause in the country. But if they were ever wanted, let it be once for all understood, that the volunteers would be proud to be brigaded together with the regular army, and especially with such men as the gallant soldiers around him. (Cheers.)

Sir William Johnston proposed the health of the Committee who arranged the banquet.

Mr. Hall Maxwell said—In acknowledging the compliment which has been paid to the Committee, I feel sure that I express the sentiments of all my colleagues when I say that, whatever time or trouble this banquet may have occasioned us, we are more than amply repaid by the knowledge that our arrangements have been satisfactory, and such as to merit the approval of this company. And I am further bound to state, that no small share of your approbation is due to one who, though not belonging to the committee, has afforded us most valuable assistance and advice, and that it is to the high artistic taste of Mr. D. O. Hill we owe the beautiful decorations which so appropriately embellish the walls. (Cheers.) The committee feel pride and gratification in thinking that they have been instrumental in promoting the success of this most interesting and important demonstration; I say important, because they do attach to the proceedings of this evening, a weight and a significance; and results may be expected to flow from them which are not to be measured by any ordinary exchange of civilities between the citizens of Edinburgh and the regiment that may be quartered among them. We are sometimes tauntingly told by foreigners that we are not a military people, and that with us the soldier is not honoured and esteemed. Those who say so know little of our national instincts and sympathies; and the most emphatic refutation of their error is to be found on the crowded floor and in the brilliant galleries of this hall. Not a military people! How many, let me ask, of the so-called military powers, could pre-

sent the spectacle which is now passing before us. We have on that floor a regiment as distinguished as ever stepped—composed, not of conscripts dragged from their homes and driven under their country's flag, but of men who have voluntarily embraced the profession of arms, and freely engaged in the service of their sovereign. And with whom are they intermingled? With the representatives of our civil volunteers, who, in the hour of danger, and to protect the purity of our shores, would co-operate with the regular forces as readily and as cheerfully as now they fraternize with them at the festive board. If, again, the soldier is not prized in Britain, how is it when this regiment, after dangers gloriously overcome, and victories gloriously achieved, returns to its native land, that the beauty and rank, the wealth, influence, and intelligence of the metropolis of that land congregate enthusiastically to recognize its services, and heartily to wish it "All hail!" thus proclaiming that no member of the community is more honoured and esteemed than the soldier, who in the hour of battle encounters his country's foes, and who,

"When wild war's deadly blast is o'er
And gentle peace returning,"

sets to his fellow-citizens an example of sobriety, discipline, and order? (Cheers.) I therefore again, my Lord Provost, say that this is an important occasion; it announces that in this country there do exist keen military instincts, warm military sympathies; it promulgates truths of no insignificant character, the utterance of which

will not be confined to these walls, nor restricted to this city, for, wafted as they will be on the wings of the press to distant lands, they will tend to point a moral and to tell a tale, of which it may be well that the inhabitants of those lands should be made aware. (Cheers.)

The Lord Provost then announced that the Corn Exchange would be opened on Wednesday evening to the public, and that by the permission of Colonel Ewart the band and pipers of the 78th Regiment would be present. (Applause.) He then proposed "The Land o' Cakes"—our homes, our families, our friends, and our country. (Loud cheers.)

Hearty cheers having been given for the Banquet Committee, for Colonel Ewart, and Colonel Walter Hamilton, the proceedings were brought to a close, and the assemblage slowly left the hall.

The 78th were greeted on their arrival outside by cheers from an immense crowd; and the front of the White Hart Inn, directly opposite the Corn Exchange, was brilliantly illuminated in honour of the occasion. The police arrangements were admirable, and everything passed off in the most satisfactory manner.

CHAPTER V.

The great Review of Scottish Volunteers before the Queen and Prince Consort—Presentation of the Indian Mutiny Medals to the 78th Regiment by Lady Havelock—Moncrieffe House—Visit of the Empress of the French to Edinburgh.

IN the month of May, the 78th Highlanders were inspected by Major-General Duncan Cameron, C.B., who had succeeded Lord Melville in the command of the troops in Scotland. A short time afterwards a copy of the following letter was received from the Assistant-Adjutant-General in Edinburgh:—

“Horse Guards, 10th July, 1860.

“Sir,—By direction of the General Commanding-in-Chief, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the confidential report of your inspection of the 78th Regiment, and to intimate to you that his Royal Highness deems the same most satisfactory, and highly creditable to Colonel Ewart and the distinguished corps under his command.

“I have, &c., &c.

(Signed) “A. HORSFORD, D.A.G.

“To Major-General Cameron, C.B.”

On the 3rd June, the 78th Highlanders lost their Colonel, Lieut.-General Sir William Chalmers,

C.B., and K.C.H., who was succeeded by Major-General Roderick Macneil of Barra.

On the 30th July the Annual Games of the Edinburgh Highland Society took place in Greenhill Park, when several prizes were carried off by non-commissioned officers and men belonging to the 78th; Pipe-Major Alexander McKellar gaining the first prize, and Piper J. Wells a prize of 2*l.* 10*s.* for marches and quicksteps.

In the course of the summer a picnic on a very large scale was given by the officers of the 78th to their relatives and friends in Edinburgh. It took place at Dalmeny Park, the beautiful seat of Lord Rosebery, situated close to the river Forth. We took the band with us, and after luncheon, dancing went on for some time on a very nice piece of turf. Towards evening an adjournment took place to the Masonic Hall, in George Street, when reels, country dances, &c., followed in quick succession. Take it altogether it was one of the most pleasant military entertainments I was ever present at.

Not very long after the grand banquet to the 78th Highlanders in the Corn Exchange, the officers of the regiment were entertained by the Royal Company of Archers. The dinner took place in the Archers' Hall, Lord Melville occupying the chair. The toast in honour of the Ross-shire Buffs was proposed in an eloquent and very kind speech by Lord Loughborough.

On the 7th August, her Majesty the Queen, accompanied by his Royal Highness the Prince Consort, the young Princes Arthur and Leopold, and the Princesses Alice, Louisa, and Helena,

arrived in Edinburgh, and proceeded to Holyrood Palace, the streets being lined by the 13th Light Dragoons, Royal Artillery, and 78th Highlanders. At four o'clock in the afternoon a grand review of upwards of 20,000 volunteers was held before her Majesty in the Queen's Park, and as I had the honour of being in attendance as one of the Queen's Aides-de-Camp, I had a capital view of the whole proceedings. From one o'clock a constant stream of men kept tramping on towards the park, and the muster of the volunteers was a source of great and unceasing interest to the dense multitude collected on the hills near Arthur's Seat. As each battalion passed the point of entrance, it was conducted by a Staff Officer to its position, taking it up with great precision and regularity. The whole force was formed in a line of contiguous columns, facing north, and extending from Holyrood Palace to the slight rise at the eastern extremity of the park; the 13th Light Dragoons and 78th Highlanders keeping the ground.

Lieut.-General Sir George Wetherall, K.C.B., commanded in chief; the volunteers being formed into two divisions, under Major-Generals Lord Rokeby, K.C.B., and Duncan Cameron, C.B. The Brigadiers of Artillery were Colonel Maclean, R.A., and Lieut.-Colonel Gardiner, R.A. The Brigadiers of Infantry were Lieut.-Colonel Davidson, Lieut.-Colonel Gordon, C.B., Lieut.-Colonel N. T. Christie, for the First Division; and Colonel Walter Hamilton, C.B., Lieut.-Colonel Sir Archibald Islay Campbell, Bart., Lieut.-Colonel Tennant, and Lieut.-Colonel Gartshore, for the Second Division.

The Commanders of battalions and special corps were as follows :—

Fifeshire Mounted Rifles.—Lieut.-General the Earl of Rosslyn.
Engineers.—Captain Ronald Johnston.

Artillery.

First Brigade—1st Battalion : Lieut.-Colonel Morris, C.B., R.A.
2nd Battalion : Lieut.-Colonel Sir James G. Baird, Bart.
3rd Battalion : Lieut.-Colonel Anderson, C.B., R.A.
Second Brigade—1st Battalion : Captain Montgomerie.
2nd Battalion : Captain Dougal.
3rd Battalion : Major Stewart.

FIRST DIVISION.

First Brigade—1st Battalion : Captain E. Gordon.
2nd Battalion : Captain Sir G. Home, Bart.
3rd Battalion : Major Arnaud.
4th Battalion : Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. A. Cathcart.
Second Brigade—1st Battalion : Captain Alison, 1st Forfar.
2nd Battalion : Captain Sir T. Erskine, Bart.
3rd Battalion : Major Potter.
4th Battalion : Lieut.-Colonel Sir J. Fife.
Third Brigade—1st Battalion : Major Elton.
2nd Battalion : Major Pitcairn.
3rd Battalion : Major Sir A. P. Gordon Cumming, Bart.
4th Battalion : The Marquis of Breadalbane, K.T.

SECOND DIVISION.

First Brigade—1st Battalion : Major Latham.
2nd Battalion : Major Fullerton.
3rd Battalion : Captain H. Boyd.
Second Brigade—1st Battalion : Major Robertson.
2nd Battalion : Major Rankine.
3rd Battalion : Major Reid.
4th Battalion : Major McBrayne.
Third Brigade—1st Battalion : Major Jamieson.
2nd Battalion : Lieut.-Colonel Stirling.
3rd Battalion : Major Rigby.
4th Battalion : Major Ewing.

Fourth Brigade—1st Battalion : Major Simpson.

2nd Battalion : Major Dawson, 93rd Highlanders.

3rd Battalion : Major Walker.

4th Battalion : Lieut.-Col. the Hon. W. F. Scarlett, S.F.G.

The officers who acted as Majors of Brigade were—for the Artillery, Lieutenant Chambers, R.A., and Lieutenant Bowen, R.A.; and for the Rifle Volunteers, Major Jones, Lieut.-Colonel Luard, Major Dick, Major Bailey, R.E., Lieut.-Colonel Ibbetson, Major Hume, and Major Nelson.

According to the field states, the total number present was 21,514.

In the course of the afternoon, the Royal Company of Archers, commanded, in the absence of the Duke of Buccleuch, by Major-General Lord Melville, K.C.B., arrived on the ground, headed by the band of the 13th Light Dragoons, and took up their position in front of the flag-staff, thus claiming their privilege of being body-guard to the Sovereign while in Scotland. They were all armed with bows and a quiver full of arrows, also a short sword; and in their picturesque costume, of Lincoln green and broad round bonnets and feathers, looked exceedingly well. There seemed to be about sixty or seventy of them, the number including Sir John Richardson, Bart., Sir William Gibson-Craig, Mr. W. E. Hope Vere, and Mr. A. Thomson, who I think, acted as officers.

Amongst those present in the grand stand erected for the occasion, were—the Duchess of Buccleuch and Lady Victoria Scott; the Marchioness of Breadalbane; the Earl of Leven and Melville; the Countess of Rothes; the Countess of Strangford, Lady Belhaven; Sir Archibald and

Lady Alison, Sir George Grant Suttie; Lieut.-General T. E. Napier, Major-General Anderson, the Lord-Justice Clerk, Lord Ardmillan, Lord Neaves, the Solicitor-General, Colonel Hope, Captain Thomson, R.N., Captain Smith, R.N., Mr. Trotter of Morton Hall, the Lord Provost of Glasgow, Major-General Fogo, Major Alison, Lieut.-Colonel Geddes, Professors Syme, Traill, Christison, Bell, Balfour, and Innes; Sheriffs Arkley, Bell, and Sandford, and several officers belonging to various regiments.

A little before four o'clock her Majesty, the Prince Consort, the Duchess of Kent, and the young Princes and Princesses arrived at the saluting-point, the royal standard being at once hoisted. The procession was headed by a detachment of the 13th Light Dragoons, followed by the Queen's Aides-de-Camps, who on this occasion were Colonel Steele, C.B., Coldstream Guards, Colonel Ewart, C.B., 78th Highlanders, Colonel Woodhouse, C.B., Royal Artillery, and Colonel Tapp, C.B., Indian Army. His Royal Highness Prince Albert, in the uniform of a Field Marshal, rode on the right of her Majesty's carriage, and the Duke of Buccleuch, Lord-Lieutenant of the county, on the left. A number of the Lord-Lieutenants of counties followed, amongst them being, General the Marquis of Tweeddale, the Marquis of Stafford, the Earl of Wemyss and March, Lord Belhaven, Lord Polwarth, and the Lord Provost of Edinburgh as Lord-Lieutenant of the city. The Adjutant-General, the Hon. Sir James Yorke Scarlett, K.C.B., and the Quartermaster-General, Sir Richard Airey, K.C.B., were also in attendance upon her Majesty.

After the royal procession had passed along the whole line, the Queen evidently surveying the volunteers with deep interest, the march past commenced, Lord Rosslyn's admirable little body of cavalry leading the way. It lasted about an hour and twenty minutes, and was in every respect a highly creditable performance. The stature and muscular breadth of the men were very remarkable, and it was most satisfactory to find that we had such an admirable army of reserve. The Marquis of Breadalbane as he rode by on a Highland pony at the head of his battalion was loudly cheered.

The marching past having been concluded, a royal salute was given. Sir George Wetherall then called for three cheers for the Queen, which was immediately responded to by the whole line, many of the volunteers tossing up their caps. It was an exciting scene, especially as the cheering was taken up by the many thousands of spectators. Her Majesty then returned to Holyrood Palace, and the various regiments gradually quitted the park. A grand volunteer ball took place in the evening. On the following morning the Queen and the Prince Consort left Edinburgh for Balmoral.

The medals for service in India during the suppression of the mutiny were received early in the month of August, and the 9th was fixed upon for their presentation to the officers and men of the 78th entitled to receive them. By a curious coincidence, Lady Havelock arrived in Edinburgh on the previous day, and it at once occurred to me to ask her to present them. She very kindly came up, with a son and two daughters, and

attended the parade on the esplanade, giving to each individual his medal, as his name was called out. After the presentation was over, she was enthusiastically cheered by the regiment, and by the numerous spectators of the ceremony, and she was then good enough to accompany me to the hospital, when those who were unable through sickness to appear on parade, received the medals from her hands. The officers entitled to receive the medals on this occasion were as follows :—

Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel H. Hamilton, C.B.
Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel C. C. McIntyre, C.B.
Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel G. A. Lockhart.
Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel T. R. Drummond-Hay.
Brevet-Major A. Mackenzie.
Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel A. Pleydell-Bouverie.
Captain T. Archer.
Captain J. Finlay.
Lieutenant G. D. Barker, Adjutant.
Lieutenant F. H. Walsh.
Lieutenant W. Thomson.
Paymaster J. Webster.
Quartermaster C. Skrine.
Surgeon J. Jee, C.B.
Assistant-Surgeon V. McMaster, V.C.

I had received my own medal some time previously, my name having been returned with the 93rd.

On the 13th August, I proceeded to Perth, having received orders to inspect the Royal Perth Rifles. Sir Thomas Moncrieffe was good enough to give me a bed, and the inspection took place on the following day, on the North Inch, the period of training having just terminated. I have never seen any militia regiment in better order, and I was consequently able to make a most favourable

report. Several of the officers had, I think, been in that excellent corps, the 42nd Royal Highlanders; and the Perth Rifles were fortunate in possessing a capital adjutant, Lord Charles Kerr. Sir Thomas and Lady Louisa Moncrieffe having kindly invited me to remain at Moncrieffe House for a day or two, I gladly availed myself of their hospitality, and had the pleasantest day's fishing I ever experienced in my life, Sir Thomas taking me out in a boat with his four eldest daughters, one of whom is now Duchess of Athole, another the Countess of Dudley, and a third Lady Forbes of Newe. Such a lovely boat's crew was probably never seen before, and is not likely to be seen again. We caught some magnificent perch, the largest I have ever had on my rod.

The Queen and Prince Consort again visited Edinburgh on the 15th September, remaining for a few days at Holyrood Palace. The two young princes, Arthur and Leopold, accompanied by Major Elphinstone, R.E., drove up to the Castle, and I had the honour of conducting them to the Crown Room, where they saw the ancient regalia of Scotland, and also over the armoury and Castle dungeons. The little princes, the eldest of whom seemed to be about ten, and the youngest seven years of age, were much amused with the latter, and displayed great quickness and intelligence.

The 13th Light Dragoons, Royal Artillery, and 78th Highlanders lined the streets both on the arrival and departure of her Majesty.

On the 25th September, being the anniversary of the day on which the 78th entered Lucknow,

the Regimental Highland Games took place in Merchiston Castle park, kindly lent for the occasion. The committee of management consisted of Lieutenant H. A. Ingles, Lieutenant H. B. Savory, and Ensign A. B. K. Williamson. The following were the successful competitors :—

Putting the Stone (24 lbs.).—First prize, Private Adam Mackie, 27ft. 1½ in.

Second prize, Drum-Major Anderson, 26ft. 10 in.

Third prize, Assistant-Sergeant-Major Christie, 25ft. 8 in.

Throwing the Hammer (13½ lbs.).—First prize, Private Adam Mackie, 83ft. 3 in.

Second prize, Corporal James Austin, 82ft. 6 in.

Third prize, Drum-Major Anderson, 80ft. 3 in.

Tossing the Cabar (18 feet long).—First prize, Private Adam Mackie.

Second prize, Private Mackenzie.

Putting the Light Ball (18 lbs.).—First prize, Drum-Major Anderson, 31ft. 10 in.

Second prize, Private Adam Mackie, 31ft. 3½ in.

Third prize, Sergeant M. Mowatt, 29ft. 11 in.

Reel Dancing.—First prize, Private J. Gunn.

Second prize, Private R. Macgregor.

Third prize, Corporal J. Austin.

Fourth prize, Private Greig.

Gillie Callum (Sword Dance).—First prize, Corporal J. Austin.

Second prize, Sergeant Pettigrew.

Highland Fling.—First prize, Private J. Gunn.

Second prize, Private P. Hazard.

Third prize, Corporal Mackenzie.

Hurdle Race (600 yards, six flights).—First prize, Private Godfrey.

Second prize, Corporal J. Austin.

Third prize, Private Sinnett.

Fourth prize, Private J. Ross.

Short Race (120 yards).—First prize, Private Jardine.

Second prize, Corporal J. Austin.

Third prize, Private Shanks.

Fourth prize, Private Sinnett.

Long Race (three-quarters of a mile).—First prize, Private Shanks.

Second prize, Corporal J. Austin.

Third prize, Private Richardson.

High Jump (standing).—First prize, Private Jardine.

Second prize, Corporal J. Austin.

Third prize, Private Shanks.

High Jump (running).—First prize, Corporal J. Austin.

Second prize, Private Jardine.

Third prize, Private Shanks.

Long Jump (standing).—First prize, Private Jardine.

Second prize, Private Shanks.

Third prize, Sergeant Johnstone.

Long Jump (running).—First prize, Private Jardine, 18ft. 2½in.

Second prize, Corporal J. Austin, 17ft. 9in.

Third prize, Private Shanks, 17ft. 4in.

Hop-Step-and-Jump.—First prize, Private Jardine, 28ft. 3in.

Second prize, Private Shanks, 27ft. 7in.

Third prize, Corporal J. Austin, 25ft. 11in.

Hitch-and-Kick.—First prize, Corporal J. Austin, 8ft. 9in.

Second prize, Private Jardine, 8ft. 2in.

Third prize, Private J. Clarke, 7ft. 6in.

Foot Race (Sergeants only).—First prize, Sergeant Craig.

Second prize, Sergeant Johnstone.

Foot Race (Corporals only).—First prize, Corporal J. Austin.

Second prize, Lance-Corporal Wishart.

Foot Race (Musicians only).—First prize, Private J. Bullen.

Second prize, Drummer Cardy.

Foot Race (veterans of more than eighteen years' service).—

First prize, Drum-Major Anderson.

Second prize, Colour-Sergeant Macpherson.

Third prize, Private Weir.

Sack Race.—First prize, Private Redpath.

Second prize, Private Shanks.

Third prize, Corporal Simpson.

Fourth prize, Private Hanley.

A capital ball was given about this time by the sergeants of the 78th, and another by the corporals, to their friends in Edinburgh, in commemoration of the first relief of Lucknow. The former took

place at the Calton Convening Rooms, and the latter at the Volunteer Arms Hotel.

On the 6th October the regiment was again inspected by Major-General Duncan Cameron, C.B., and a few weeks afterwards a copy of the following letter was received :—

“Horse Guards, 30th November, 1860.

“Sir,—Having had the honour to submit to the General Commanding-in-Chief the confidential report of your inspection of the 78th Regiment for the second period of the current year, I have it in command to intimate to you, that his Royal Highness deems the same in all respects highly creditable and satisfactory.

“I have, &c.,

(Signed) “A. HORSFORD, D.A.G.

“Major-General Cameron, C.B.”

During the month of November the city of Edinburgh received a visit from the Empress of the French, and on the 19th I had the honour of conducting her Majesty all over the Castle ; a lady who, I think, was the Marquise de la Grange, accompanying her. After inspecting the regalia, Queen Mary’s apartments, St. Margaret’s Chapel, and Mons Meg, the Empress expressed a wish to see some of the barrack-rooms, and seemed to take a great interest in the 78th, it being the first Highland regiment she had seen. After taking her into several of them, she was good enough to rest for some time in my quarter, conversing most kindly with my wife, and also taking on her knee and kissing my little daughter. Her Majesty, on the guard presenting arms, went forward to one of the

soldiers who had several medals, and questioned him about the actions he had been engaged in. She was loudly cheered when leaving the Castle.

Two or three days afterwards, when returning from a march into the country, I purposely took the regiment past the hotel where the Empress was staying, when her Majesty at once came into the balcony and graciously bowed several times, being evidently much pleased. On the 22nd November she took her departure for the north.

The winter of 1860-61 was, as usual, a very gay one, many balls taking place, and I was frequently asked to more than one party on the same night.

On the 22nd March, 1861, my eldest son (John Spencer) was born at Callingwood Hall.

The officers of the 78th, being desirous of making some return for all the kindness and hospitality they had received, gave, on the 9th April, a very large ball, which took place in the Assembly Rooms and Music Hall. About 500, or perhaps more, were present at it, the invitations including the Marquis of Bowmont; the Earl and Countess of Buchan; Sir John and Lady Seton Steuart; Sir Archibald Hope; Sir Hew Dalrymple; Sir John, Lady, and the Misses Richardson; Sir Edward and Lady Hunter Blair; Sir John, Lady Ann, and Miss Dick Lauder; Major-General and Lady Elizabeth Walker; Sir William Wallace; Lady and Miss Dick Cunynghame; Lord, Mrs. and Miss Neaves; the Lord Advocate, Mrs. and Miss Moncrieff; Lady and Miss Dalrymple Fergusson; Lord Curriehill; Mrs. and the Misses Marshall; Lord David Kennedy; the Hon. Mr., Mrs., and Miss Primrose; Sir John and Lady

Marjoribanks; Colonel and Mrs. Alison; General Victor; Colonel, Mrs., and the Misses Hope; Colonel and Mrs. Forbes; Mr., Mrs., and the Misses Hay-Newton; Captain and Mrs. Tolle-mache; Captain, Mrs., and the Misses Mackay; Mr., Mrs., and the Misses Macalpine-Leny; Major Alison; Captain and Mrs. Bowman; Captain, Mrs., and Miss Mitchell-Innes; and, in fact, I may say everybody we knew.

In the spring of 1861, Major-General Duncan Cameron having been appointed to the command of the troops in New Zealand, was succeeded at Edinburgh by Major-General E. W. F. Walker, C.B.

On the 18th April the 78th Highlanders received orders to hold themselves in readiness to proceed to Aldershot. Shortly before I lost the services of my Adjutant, Lieutenant George Digby Barker, a most excellent officer, who was promoted to a company in the 19th Foot (now Colonel, and Assistant Director of Military Education).

CHAPTER VI.

Aldershot Camp—Inauguration of the Monument to the 78th Highlanders.

EARLY in the month of May, 1861, the 78th quitted Edinburgh Castle, after a pleasant sojourn there of fourteen months, embarking at Leith in a steamer for London. We landed at St. Katherine's wharf, and then marched to the station, proceeding on by railway to our destination. On arrival at Aldershot the regiment was posted to Major-General Brook Taylor's brigade, quarters being handed over to it in the front lines of the South Camp. I was soon comfortably settled in my hut, which contained six tiny rooms, and one equal in size to two of the others, which formed the sitting-room.

Aldershot is so well known that I shall not enter into any description of it, or of the field-days which took place during the drill season. I had been told before coming to the camp that I must "look out for squalls," as the Lieut.-General in command was apt, it was said, to lose his temper occasionally. My informant had, however, unnecessarily alarmed me, for nothing could exceed the kindness I experienced from Sir John Pennefather during the whole twelve months that

I spent at Aldershot, Lady Pennefather also being most attentive to my wife.

I considered myself especially fortunate as regards the officer in charge of my brigade, as he was a most kind and courteous commander to serve under, and I enjoyed more than one pleasant evening at his hut in the South Camp, so tastefully furnished by Mrs. Brook Taylor, who always made a dinner-party cheerful and agreeable to everybody.

During the summer the 78th proceeded with some other regiments, under the command of Major-General Lawrence, C.B., to Woolmer, remaining there for about a week under canvas. Shortly afterwards orders were received to move into the west block of the Permanent Barracks, where we replaced the 32nd Light Infantry, the sergeants of the 78th entertaining the sergeants of the latter corps at a ball and supper prior to their departure from the camp, in recollection of Lucknow days.

We had not been long in our new quarters when a terrible and most distressing event took place. In the preceding month of March I had obtained a few days leave of absence, and on returning to Edinburgh noticed a short and very ill-looking soldier in the ranks, whom I had not previously seen. On making inquiries as to who he was, I was informed that he had just come out of confinement after undergoing an imprisonment with hard labour, to which he had been sentenced for deserting from the 78th dépôt and enlisting into another corps. There was something about the man's face that I did not like at all. Not

many days after, it was reported to me that Private Jackson, the individual in question, had got up in the night, taken his rifle from the rack, and smashed the windows in his barrack-room all to pieces. I immediately sent for the Surgeon of the regiment, to whom I gave it as my opinion that the man was a lunatic, requesting him to make a most careful examination, and to give me, if he agreed with the conclusion at which I had arrived, a certificate to the effect that he was mad, in order that I might forward it to the General, and have him removed from the Castle, and discharged from the 78th. The Surgeon at once saw Private Jackson, but on returning to my quarter, stated that he considered him perfectly sane, and that he would be unable to give me the certificate I wanted. There was then nothing left for it but to report the matter to the General, who gave orders for the man to be tried by a district court-martial for the damage done to his rifle and the window. He was sentenced to three or four months' imprisonment with hard labour, and on its expiration rejoined the regiment at Aldershot.

Not long after his release I was sitting quietly in my quarter one evening, about half-past eight or nine o'clock, when a non-commissioned officer ran over with the news that a sergeant and corporal had just been shot in one of the barrack-rooms. I went across immediately, and found that it was, alas, too true, and that this same man, Jackson, had loaded his rifle unseen by any of the other soldiers, and deliberately shot Sergeant Dickson through the body, as he was calling the roll, killing him instantaneously, the ball

afterwards breaking the arm of Corporal Campbell. He was, of course, at once seized and conveyed to the guard-room, and on the following day handed over to the civil power. A coroner's inquest was then held, and a verdict of "wilful murder" having been returned, Jackson was sent off to Winchester, where he was afterwards tried and hung, refusing to the last to receive the ministrations of a clergyman. The death of poor Sergeant Dickson grieved me very much. Corporal Campbell had to undergo a very difficult and critical operation, which was most skilfully performed by Dr. Jee, and his arm, though somewhat shortened, was saved.

On the 29th August the Camp Athletic Sports took place, when the 78th carried off several prizes; Adam Mackie taking the first prizes for "Putting the stone" and "Throwing the hammer," and Drum-Major Anderson being second for the latter. Private J. Mackenzie won the two flat races of 500 yards and 100 yards, and was third in the hurdle race. Sergeant Austin also carried off three prizes. This was doing very well amongst so many regiments. There were no prizes for dancing.

The Annual Games of the 78th were held on the 10th September, the committee on the occasion consisting of Captain G. Forbes, Lieutenant H. B. Savory, Lieutenant Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Bart., and Ensign A. B. Kerr Williamson. There were a great many spectators, amongst them being Sir John Pennefather, Brigadier-General and Mrs. Brook Taylor, and Brigadier-General D. Russell.

The prizes were awarded as follows :—

Putting the Stone (18 lbs.).—First prize, Corporal Adam Mackie, 32ft.

Second prize, Private C. Ross.

Third prize, Drum-Major Anderson.

Throwing the Hammer.—First prize, Corporal A. Mackie, 90ft.

Second prize, Sergeant Austin.

Third prize, Drum-Major Anderson.

Tossing the Cabar.—First prize, Corporal Mackenzie.

Second prize, Private A. Mackenzie.

Hurdle Race (600 yards).—First prize, Private J. Mackenzie.

Second prize, Private W. Meredith.

Third prize, Private W. Riddle.

Reel Dancing.—First prize, Private R. Wilson.

Second prize, Private J. Lindsay.

Third prize, Corporal J. Gunn.

Fourth prize, Corporal A. Mackie.

Gillie Callum.—First prize, Sergeant Austin.

Second prize, Corporal A. Mackie.

Highland Fling.—First prize, Drummer J. McLeod.

Second prize, Corporal R. Wilson.

Third prize, Sergeant Austin.

Short Race (120 yards).—First prize, Private J. Mackenzie.

Second prize, Sergeant Austin.

Third prize, Corporal A. Mackie.

Fourth prize, Private A. Scott.

High Jump (standing).—First prize, Private J. Mackenzie, 4ft. 6in.

Second prize, Sergeant Austin.

Third prize, Private F. Loughton.

High Jump (running).—First prize, Sergeant Austin.

Second prize, Private J. Mackenzie.

Third prize, Private F. Loughton.

Long Jump (standing).—First prize, Private J. Mackenzie.

Second prize, Private W. McCafferty.

Third prize, Sergeant Austin.

Long Jump (running).—First prize, Sergeant Austin, 18ft.

Second prize, Private J. McCart.

Third prize, Private F. Sinnett.

Hop-Step-and-Jump.—First prize, Sergeant Austin, 13yds. 1ft.

Second prize, Private J. McCart.

Third prize, Private F. Sinnett.

Long Race (three-quarters of a mile).—First prize, Private J. Mackenzie.

Second prize, Private Meredith.

Third prize, Private A. Scott.

Bagpipe Playing (young Pipers only).—First prize, Piper J. Clyde.

Second prize, Piper J. Woods.

Foot Race (250 yards, Sergeants only).—First prize, Sergeant J. Greycy.

Second prize, Sergeant Austin.

Foot Race (250 yards, Corporals only).—First prize, Corporal Mackie.

Second prize, Corporal Logan.

Sack Race.—First prize, Drummer Anderson.

Second prize, Private Ferrier.

Third prize, Private Crathey.

Heavy-Marching Order Race.—First prize, Private J. Mackenzie.

Second prize, Corporal Mackenzie.

Third prize, Private McGibbony.

On the 7th October the 78th Regiment was inspected by Brigadier-General W. G. Brown, to whose brigade it had been transferred, and the following letter was received a day or two afterwards :—

“Aldershot, 12th October, 1861.

“Sir,—I am directed by the Brigadier-General commanding the Second Brigade to convey to you his very great satisfaction at the recent inspection of the 78th Highlanders under your command. Not only was he well pleased by their fine and soldierlike appearance on parade, but likewise by their drill in every respect. The interior economy as it came under his observation was all that he could desire; and as the whole reflects the greatest credit on yourself and all under your command in evincing every zeal to maintain the high character

of the corps, he begs you will express the same to your regiment.

“I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed)

“ E. A. MORGAN,

“ Captain, and Major of Brigade.

“ To Colonel Ewart, C.B.,

“ Commanding 78th Highlanders.”

The sham fights at Aldershot were sometimes great fun, but, on account of the thick dust, we now and then returned home as black as sweeps; and I remember on one occasion the cavalry all but charged right into the infantry from not being able to see them. The Crown Prince of Prussia was present at one of our battles, and as he rode past me I was much touched by his putting his hand to his helmet out of compliment to my empty sleeve. Once Sir John Pennefather was good enough to give me command of the enemy, and I fought a fierce but fortunately bloodless action with Brigadier-General Russell, a squadron of the 5th Lancers, which I had with me, greatly distinguishing itself, as in real warfare it would undoubtedly have captured many prisoners.

The winter of 1861-62 was a very sad one, as it was that in which the country suffered such a terrible loss, by the unexpected death of the Prince Consort, who to the inexpressible grief of everybody, died on the 14th December, after an illness of only a few days. I was much shocked when I first heard the news, and his premature decease at the early age of forty-two years was indeed a great national calamity.

On the return of the 78th from India it was decided to erect a monument to the memory of the officers and men who fell during the suppression of the mutiny, and a subscription was at once set on foot, in which the entire regiment joined, many old officers who had formerly belonged to the Ross-shire Buffs, adding their names to the list. It was finally decided to place a Memorial Cross on the esplanade of Edinburgh Castle, with the names of all who fell inscribed upon it. The inauguration took place on the 15th April, 1861, and the following description of the proceedings is extracted from the *Daily Review* :—

*“ Inauguration of the Monument to the 78th
Highlanders.*

“The Monument erected on the Castle Esplanade to the memory of the officers and men of the 78th Highlanders who fell in India, was inaugurated yesterday with military honours.

“At half-past ten o'clock in the forenoon, the 26th Cameronians paraded on the esplanade, and were joined immediately by the Royal Artillery from Leith Fort, with all their guns. Soon after the Scots Greys were seen wending their way up the High Street to the same spot, and arrived a few minutes later. The artillery were ranged in two ranks across the middle of the Esplanade from north to south. The Cameronians were formed on the south side, with officers in front. On the east the Scots Greys took up their position in a similar manner, while the bands of both regiments played alternately. A number of workmen

were during this time engaged taking down the scaffolding used in the erection of the monument, which itself was shrouded in the royal standard. The north side was also occupied by the Greys, a square being thereby formed, in the interior of which appeared the Major-General Commanding the Troops in Scotland, and his Staff.

“Precisely at eleven o’clock the signal, by sound of trumpet, was given, and the shroud having been dropped, the monument was exposed to view. General Walker then addressed the troops and spectators in eloquent and stirring terms, referring to the gallant services of the 78th in various parts of the world, and the havoc caused in their ranks by sickness and war, reading also a brief history of the regiment. In conclusion, he called on all present to give three hearty cheers for the Ross-shire Buffs. The cheers were led by the General with a hearty ‘Hip, hip, hip, hurrah,’ and were enthusiastically taken up by the soldiers, and by the large concourse of people which had assembled.

“During the uncovering of the monument, ‘God save the Queen’ was played; and immediately after the cheering had subsided, the band of the Scots Greys struck up the beautiful and well-known air, ‘Scots wha hae.’”

Whilst at Aldershot I paid more than one visit to the College at Sandhurst, the distance being only seven miles, and on one occasion I dined with my wife and children close to the strip of ground which separates the upper and lower lakes. It was pleasant to see the dear old place

again, but sad to enter the little cemetery, and read the names of professors and others whom I had known as a boy.

There are but few residents in the neighbourhood of Aldershot, the officers are therefore dependent on themselves for amusement. I remember, however, some very good-natured Miss Lindsays, who were kind enough to ask me to dinner more than once. I endeavoured, whilst at the camp, to establish ladies' dinner-parties at mess, and the first experiment was a most successful one, the mess and ante-rooms at the Permanent Barracks being large and good. I remember that I sat on one side of the table, just at the centre, with Mrs. Brook Taylor on one side, and Mrs. Portal (wife of Lieut.-Colonel Portal, who was in command of the 5th Lancers), one of the most charming persons I ever met, on the other. My wife was opposite, supported by Generals Brook Taylor and Russell. Many of the officers invited lady friends, and a most delightful evening was spent, the passing of the "Quaich," or "Cuach" (a little wooden cup or scoop filled with whisky) after the haggis, causing much amusement, as did also the marching round of the pipers. The band of course attended, and an adjournment took place afterwards to the ante-room, where a piano had been placed.

Amongst the regiments quartered at the camp during the stay of the 78th, were the 5th Lancers, under Lieut.-Colonel Portal; the 9th Lancers, under Lieut.-Colonel Drysdale; the 12th Lancers, under Lieut.-Colonel Oakes; the 16th Lancers, under Lieut.-Colonel Foster, and the

18th Hussars, under Lieut.-Colonel Knox; also, I think, the 5th Dragoon Guards, under Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. Somerset Calthorpe. The infantry included the 2nd (Queen's), under Lieut.-Colonel Addison; the 8th (King's), under Colonel Haines; the 10th (North Lincoln), under Colonel Longden; the 20th (East Devonshire), under Lieut.-Colonel Radcliffe; the 25th (King's Own Borderers), under Lieut.-Colonel Allen; the 32nd (Cornwall), Light Infantry, under Lieut.-Colonel Stapylton; the 53rd (Shropshire), under Lieut.-Colonel English; the 60th (King's Royal) Rifles, under Colonel Sir John Jones; the 61st (South Gloucestershire), under Lieut.-Colonel Redmond; the 84th (York and Lancaster), under Lieut.-Colonel Lightfoot; and the 1st battalion of the Rifle Brigade, under Lieut.-Colonel Lord Alexander Russell.

At the end of April I received orders to hold the regiment in readiness to proceed to Shorncliffe.

It was the custom of my wife whilst at Aldershot, and also afterwards at Shorncliffe and Dover, to hold what she termed "Mothers' Meetings;" her object in doing so being to instil habits of industry and forethought into the minds of the soldiers' wives. At these evening meetings each woman attended with her work-basket; and materials having been supplied, at a reduction of twopence in every shilling, my wife explained to all who required assistance in the matter, the method of cutting-out and making children's clothes. As soon as all were at work, she sat down and read some amusing or instructive book.

Her disposition was so kindly, so thoughtful, so considerate, and so cheerful, that few, if any, failed to be present, when it was in their power to be so. No one will ever know the amount of good she did in her quiet way. I well remember her once asking if I would allow her to speak to a soldier of very drunken habits, whom punishment had failed to improve. My consent was at once willingly given, and she sent for him. From that day he became a changed man. Afterwards, when we had quitted the 78th, she taught regularly for some years in the Sunday-school, and continued to play the harmonium and lead the village choir at Tatenhill, until her health broke down.

CHAPTER VII.

Shorncliffe Camp—Presentation of a Testimonial to the Rosshire Buffs from the counties of Ross and Cromarty—Dover.

ON the 12th May, 1862, the 78th Highlanders, preceded by the bands of the 8th, 20th, 53rd, 61st, and 84th Regiments, marched off from the Permanent Barracks to the North Camp station, Lieut.-Colonel Radcliffe, of the 20th—who, I may here observe, had his young battalion in splendid order—kindly giving an excellent breakfast to myself and to my wife and children before the start. Not a single man was absent from parade, and on reaching the station we found a special train in readiness, which soon conveyed us to our destination. I left Aldershot with much regret, as, having been all my life amongst soldiers, I was very happy there.

Major-General the Hon. A. A. Dalzell at this time commanded the Division at Shorncliffe and Dover, Brigadier-General W. Sutton, C.B., having charge of the camp at the former place. We were placed in huts on our arrival; and as for some reason only half a hut was handed over to me as the Commanding-Officer's quarter, I had at once

to proceed in search of lodgings for my family, and was fortunately able to secure a house in Wellington Terrace, Sandgate.

My first impression of our new Brigadier was not a favourable one. He was the smallest man, I think, that I had ever seen, and peppery to a degree. I soon found, however, that under a rather abrupt manner he concealed a very kind heart; and in a short time we were the greatest possible friends; in fact, I took a great liking to him. His wife (Mrs. Sutton), was a particularly nice person. The other regiments in camp were our old friends the 84th, and the 96th under Lieut.-Colonel Scovell.

On the 26th June another important event in the annals of the 78th took place, namely, the presentation to the regiment of a magnificent testimonial of respect from the counties of Ross and Cromarty. It consisted of a superb centre-piece for the table of the officers' mess, and a silver cup for that of the sergeants' mess, the value of the former being about 500 guineas, and that of the latter 100 guineas.

The design of the centre-piece represented a mounted officer of the 78th attacking a Sepoy, a private of the regiment being also shown in the act of bayoneting another. The group was in frosted silver, with a bronzed disabled gun, and was placed on a triangular stand of black marble, at each end of which was depicted a trophy of Highland and Indian arms, surmounted by the crest of the Mackenzies—a stag's head. On one of the faces of the stand was the following inscription:—

“Presented by the counties of Ross and Cromarty, to the 78th Highlanders, or Ross-shire Buffs, in admiration of the gallantry of the Regiment, and its uniform devotion to the service of the country.”

On the second face was a representation in silver of the relief of Lucknow ; and on the third were two wreaths, inscribed with the names of the actions in which the regiment had been engaged, surmounted by an elephant—a badge which the 78th carry on their colours.

The cup for the sergeants had a precisely similar inscription, and both were designed by Turner, of New Bond Street.

The presentation was made on the parade ground, in front of the huts occupied by the 78th ; and amongst those present were Major-General the Hon. A. A. Dalzell, Brigadier-General Sutton, Colonel Ormsby, R.A., Colonel Shakespeare, R.A., Colonel Scovell (96th Regiment), Colonel Walker, C.B., Assistant Quarter-Master-General, Colonel Taylor, C.B., Assistant Adjutant-General, Lieut.-Colonel Lightfoot, C.B. (84th Regiment), Major Wright, and Major-General the Hon. W. J. Colville.

The regiment having formed a large square, Seaforth—who was in full Highland costume—stepped forward and spoke as follows :—

“Colonel Ewart, Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Men of the 78th,—I have been deputed by the counties of Ross and Cromarty to make this presentation, which I have now the honour of doing, as a recognition of the services of the distinguished regiment which I have the pleasure of addressing—a regiment with which I am most intimately connected, and one which has

maintained the glory of the British arms in many a hard-fought field—from Assaye, under the late Duke of Wellington, to its last achievements under Havelock, Outram, and Lord Clyde. The plate now presented, I trust will become an heirloom in the corps, and long remind the 78th of the circumstances which prompted this spontaneous evidence of regard and good feeling from the counties where the regiment was first raised. The testimonial must not be considered as belonging to the officers alone; it is the property of the regiment at large, and I hope that all will feel equal pride in this recognition of their services.”

Having in the name of the Ross-shire Buffs briefly thanked Seaforth for the distinguished honour done to the regiment, and for the testimonial presented, three cheers were given for the chief of the Mackenzies, and for the counties of Ross and Cromarty. The regiment then marched past, after which Major-General Dalzell made a short speech, expressing the pleasure he felt at having the 78th under his command. The parade was then dismissed, and the spectators of the ceremony adjourned to a *déjeûner* in the mess-hut of the officers. After the cloth was removed, a variety of toasts were proposed by Lord Ashburton and others, General Dalzell proposing “Mrs. Ewart and the Ladies,” which was drunk with Highland honours. The band and pipers played at intervals during the luncheon, the following being the programme of the pipe music:—

Cabar Fiadh, or the Deer's Horns	<i>Strathspey.</i>
Cumha Rìgh Seòras an tri, or King George III.'s	
Lament.....	<i>Pibroch.</i>

Cairte Bàthach Seorus, or the Mucking of Geordie's

Byre *March.*

Thir Ban Banarach, or the fair Dairymaid..... *Strathspey.*

In the evening a ball was given by the officers of the 78th in the large reading-room hut, which was ornamented for the occasion with numerous stars, formed of claymores, dirks, ramrods, and bayonets. The hut really looked exceedingly well, being draped with pink and white muslin, a profusion of evergreens and flowers being also used. A passage, made through one of the windows, opened into a spacious marquee, which was again connected with another hut. The testimonial, of course, occupied a conspicuous position, being placed on a stand covered with Mackenzie tartan. Dancing commenced about nine o'clock, and was kept up with unflagging spirit until the early morning. A very charming Miss Baring—daughter, I think, of Lord Ashburton—was amongst those present.

On the following day the 78th held their annual Highland Games, Seaforth officiating as judge of the dancing, and Captain Forbes acting as president of the committee of management. The prizes were awarded as follows :—

Putting the Stone (18 lbs.).—First prize, Sergeant A. Mackie, 33ft.

Second prize, Private McCart, 31ft.

Third prize, Private Hume, 27ft. 10in.

Throwing the Hammer.—First prize, Sergeant A. Mackie, 86ft.

Second prize, Private McCart, 83ft.

Third prize, Sergeant Austin, 78ft. 5in.

Tossing the Cabar.—First prize, Sergeant A. Mackie.

Second prize, Sergeant Wilson.

Hurdle Race (600 yards, six flights).—First prize, Private J. Mackenzie.

Second prize, Private Scott.

Third prize, Private Riddle.

Long Race.—First prize, Private Riddle.

Second prize, Private Stewart.

Third prize, Private McGore.

Short Race (120 yards).—First prize, Private J. Mackenzie.

Second prize, Sergeant A. Mackie.

Third prize, Sergeant Austin.

Hop-Step-and-Jump.—First prize, Sergeant Austin, 37ft. 7in.

Second prize, Private Shanks, 37ft.

Third prize, Private McCart, 36ft. 10in.

High Jump (standing).—First prize, Private J. Mackenzie, 4ft. 4in.

Second prize, Sergeant A. Mackie and Sergeant Austin, 4ft. 2in.

Third prize, Private Shanks, 4ft. 1in.

High Jump (running).—First prize, Sergeant Austin, 5ft. 2in.

Second prize, Private J. Mackenzie, 5ft. 1in.

Third prize, Sergeant A. Mackie, 5ft.

Long Jump (standing).—First prize, Private Shanks, 9ft. 3in.

Second prize, Private Dunbar, 8ft. 10in.

Third prize, Sergeant A. Mackie, 8ft. 9½in.

Long Jump (running).—First prize, Sergeant Austin, 18ft. 5in.

Second prize, Private J. McCart, 17ft. 8in.

Third prize, Private Shanks, 17ft. 7in.

Reel Dancing.—First prize, Private J. Lindsay.

Second prize, Private G. Gunn.

Third prize, Sergeant A. Mackie.

Gillie Callum.—First prize, Sergeant A. Mackie.

Second prize, Bandsman McLeod.

Highland Fling.—First prize, Private Lindsay.

Second prize, Bandsman McLeod.

Third prize, Corporal Wilson.

Foot Race (Sergeants only).—First prize, Sergeant A. Mackie.

Second prize, Sergeant Austin.

Foot Race (Corporals only).—First prize, Corporal McDonald.

Second prize, Corporal Jones.

Sack Race.—First prize, Private Ducburgh.

Second prize, Private Macdonald.

Third prize, Private Todd.

Heavy-Marching Order Race.—First prize, Private Mackenzie.
Second prize, Private McCart.
Third prize, Sergeant A. Mackie.

On the evening after the games, the sergeants of the 78th celebrated the presentation of their cup by a dinner to a large party of friends, followed immediately by a ball, which took place in the same room in which the officers had held theirs, the decorations remaining unaltered.

The town of Sandgate, situated below Shorncliffe Camp is but a small place. Amongst those who resided there at the time I speak of, were the Marquis of Tweeddale, whose daughter, Lady Jane Hay, was particularly nice and kind, and Sir John Bligh, the former a distinguished General Officer, and the latter a well-known diplomatist; both dined with me at mess. Sir John had, I recollect, in the comfortable house which he had built for himself between Sandgate and the camp, a wonderful collection of old china. General Dalzell was excessively courteous to all under his command, and I spent more than one pleasant evening at his house; a more agreeable man it would be difficult to find. I had the pleasure of meeting there his eldest brother, the Earl of Carnwath, and also his younger brother, Colonel Dalzell, who had some very nice daughters. It grieved me very much to find, when wandering a year or two back in the beautiful churchyard of St. Peter's, at Bournemouth, a monument to one of the latter, and also another to her brother, who was the General's Aide-de-Camp, and universally liked. General Dalzell himself afterwards succeeded to the title; and it is a curious and rather

sad circumstance, that a photograph in my possession, taken when I was quartered at Shorncliffe, now contains the likenesses of no less than four Earls of Carnwath, though at the time the group was photographed it contained but one.

On the 23rd December, 1862, my second son (Arthur Wartensleben), was born at Sandgate, and a few weeks afterwards I proceeded on leave of absence to Callingwood Hall. On our return we resided for a short time at Hythe, distant about two miles from Shorncliffe, but afterwards obtained possession of our former lodgings in Wellington Terrace. Not far from Hythe are the ruins of Saltwood Castle. The only house between Hythe and Sandgate was occupied by Colonel Ormsby, who commanded the Royal Artillery at the camp; he had a daughter, an only child, about seventeen years of age, who was exceedingly pretty, and an admirable rider.

Her Royal Highness the Crown Princess of Prussia held a drawing-room on the 28th February, 1863, at St. James's Palace, which I attended, with my wife. In the course of the summer the 78th Highlanders moved to Dover, taking up their quarters at the Shaft Barracks. About the same time the regiment was inspected by Major-General Sutton, C.B., a copy of the following letter being afterwards received:—

“Horse Guards, 17th July, 1863.

“Sir,—By direction of the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the confidential report of inspection by Major-General Sutton, of the 78th

Regiment, for the first period of the current year. The satisfactory evidence afforded in this document of the efficiency and discipline of the corps is most gratifying to his Royal Highness, who has expressed himself in terms of high commendation of the commanding officer, Colonel Ewart, and the manner in which he conducts the duties of his command.

“ I have, &c.,

(Signed) “ A. HORSFORD, D.A.G.

“ The General Officer Commanding S.E. District.”

I now found myself back amongst many old friends, whom I had known when quartered at Dover Castle with the 93rd. The barrack to which we had been sent was decidedly the best in the town, but some found the shaft rather trying to ascend. I soon got accustomed to it, and frequently went up three times a day. On the 5th October the 78th held their annual rifle meeting in the North Foreland meadow, the prize winners being as follows :—

Regimental Prize (two from each company).—First prize,

Private George Broadwell.

Second prize, Lance-Sergeant W. Logan.

Third prize, Private George Woods.

Fourth prize, Private David Law.

Fifth prize, Private George Mason.

Best Shooting Company Prize (competitors, the twenty best shots in the company which has made the highest figure during the year ; ranges, 500 and 600 yards, five rounds at each).—First prize, Private J. Chandler.

Second prize, Private A. Russell.

Third prize, Lance-Sergeant W. Logan.

Fourth prize, Private Duncan McMaster.

Fifth prize, Private J. Brown.

Second best Shooting Company Prize (the same rules as the last).—First prize, Private J. Logan.

Second prize, Private R. Gairn.

Third prize, Colour-Sergeant S. Chapman.

Fourth prize, Private F. Blyth.

Fifth prize, Private T. Austin.

Non-commissioned Officers' Prize (a silver cup).—First prize, Sergeant George Conolly.

Second prize, Lance-Sergeant W. Hardie.

Skirmishing Prize.—Lance-Sergeant Logan and Private J. McClintock.

Sweepstakes for Officers of the Regiment (any position).—

First prize, Ensign E. P. Stewart.

Second prize, Lieutenant A. Murray.

The annual Highland Gathering took place in the same meadow on the 8th October, with the following result:—

Putting the Stone (20 lbs.).—First prize, Private McCart, 31ft. 7in.

Second prize, Drum-Major Anderson, 30ft. 9in

Third prize, Private C. Ross, 30ft. 7in.

Throwing the Heavy Hammer (18 lbs.).—First prize, Sergeant Hume, 67ft.

Second prize, Corporal Bowie, 66ft.

Third prize, Private McCart, 60ft.

Throwing the Light Hammer (12 lbs.).—First prize, Private A. Mackie, 91ft.

Second prize, Private McCart, 83ft.

Third prize, Corporal Bowie, 82ft.

Tossing the Cabar.—First prize, Private McCart.

Second prize, Private R. Wilson.

Reel Dancing.—First prize, Private W. Campbell.

Second prize, Private R. Wilson.

Third prize, Private Lindsay.

Gillie Callum.—First prize, Corporal J. McLeod.

Second prize, Piper J. Woods.

Third prize, Piper Borthwick.

Highland Fling.—First prize, Piper J. McLeod.

Second prize, Private R. Wilson.

Third prize, Private A. Mackie.

Reel a Thullacan.—First prize, Private J. Lindsay.

Second prize, Piper D. Croot.

Third prize, Drummer A. Hay.

Fourth prize, Piper J. Clyde.

Race (200 yards).—First prize, Private J. Mackenzie.

Second prize, Private A. Mackie.

Third prize, Private A. Durham.

Race (800 yards).—First prize, Sergeant Austin.

Second prize, Private McCart.

Third prize, Lance-Sergeant Hume.

Race (lads only).—First prize, Piper J. McLeod.

Second prize, Drummer McInery.

Race (Sergeants only).—Lance-Sergeant Hume.

Second prize, Sergeant Austin.

Race (Corporals only).—First prize, Corporal D. Craig.

Second prize, Corporal J. Noble.

Race (veterans only).—First prize, Private W. Fergusson.

Second prize, Drum-Major Anderson.

Race (Officers only).—First prize, Ensign A. Stourton.

Second prize, Ensign O. Graham.

High Leap (standing).—First prize, Sergeant Austin.

Second prize, Private Shanks.

High Leap (running).—First prize, Private J. McCarty, 5ft. 3in.

Second prize, Piper Duncan and Private Shanks, 5ft. 2in.

Long Leap (standing).—First prize, Private A. Mackie, 9ft. 8in.

Second prize, Private A. Durham, 9ft. 7½in.

Long Leap (running).—First prize, Private Shanks, 17ft. 8in.

Second prize, Lance-Sergeant Hume, 17ft. 5¼in.

Hurdle Race.—First prize, Sergeant Austin.

Second prize, Private Durham.

Third prize, Private W. Stewart.

Wheelbarrow Race (competitors blindfold).—First prize, Private J. Duchburgh.

Second prize, Private J. Landman.

Third prize, Private T. McDonald.

Prizes thrown open to the Garrisons of Dover, Shorncliffe, and Walmer.

Half-Mile Race.—First prize, Private McCart, 78th.

Second prize, Sergeant Austin, 78th.

Quarter of a Mile Race.—Private Stewart, 78th.

Throwing the Hammer.—Private A. Mackie, 78th.

Extra Prize.

Dancing (a skene-dhu, presented by Sir Alexander Mackenzie).—Piper J. McLeod, 78th.

The committee of management on this occasion consisted of Captain G. Forbes, Lieutenant T. Mackenzie, and Lieutenant T. H. Thompson. About 7000 people were on the ground, and the band and pipers of the regiment were in attendance, and played at intervals during the day.

I always attached the greatest importance to these annual games, and they were looked forward to with great interest by everyone in the regiment. They not only tended to promote good feeling, but induced the men to engage almost daily in manly sports and exercises, thereby keeping them out of public-houses, and at the same time greatly improving their health and muscular power. The drunken and dissipated had but slight chance of ever winning a prize. As this is the last gathering I shall be able to record, the following lines, extracted from an old *Scotsman* newspaper, may here not be out of place.

HIGHLAND GLORY.

Hurrah for the Highland glory !
Hurrah for the Highland name !
For the battles of the great Montrose,
The Pass of the gallant Græme !
Hurrah for the Chiefs and Nobles
That rose up in their place
And perill'd life and fortune
For Charlie's bonnie face.

Away frae green Lochaber
He led his slender clans,
And the rising skirl o' our bagpipes play'd
Sir John frae Prestonpans.
Ance mair we gather'd glory
In Falkirk's battle stoure,
Ere the tartans lay red soak'd in bluid
On black Culloden moor.

And when the weary time was ower,
When the head fell frae the neck,
Wolfe heard the cry, "They run! they run!"
Ere he died aboon Quebec.
At Ticonderago's fortress
We fell on, sword and targe—
And Moore was lifted up to see
His "Forty-second" charge.

And aye the pipe was loudest,
And aye the tartans flew
The first, frae bluidy Maida
To bluidier Waterloo.
On mony a sea we've sail'd, my lads,
And fought 'neath mony a sky,
And it's ever where the fight is hot
The tartans thickest lie.

And we landed, lads, in India
While in our bosom's core
One bitter memory burn'd like hell—
The shambles at Cawnpore!
Well ye mind our march through the furnace heats,
Well ye mind the heaps o' slain,
While we follow'd through his score o' fights
Good "Havelock the Dane!"

Three cheers for the Highland Meeting!
Three cheers for the Highland Games!
God bless you, gallant gentlemen!
God love you, bonny dames!
And sneer not at the brawny limbs
And the strength of the Highland men—
When our bayonets next are levell'd
They may be needed then.

CHAPTER VIII.

A Fancy Ball—Dublin—Killarney—Farewell to the 78th.

To the great regret of every one connected with the Ross-shire Buffs, Lieut.-General Roderick Macneil died on the 23rd October, 1863, being succeeded in the colonelcy of the regiment by Lieut.-General Sir Patrick Grant, G.C.B.

On the 30th November the officers of the 78th entertained a very large party of guests in honour of St. Andrew's day. The season of 1863-64 was an unusually gay one at Dover, endless balls and parties taking place, culminating on the 19th April by a magnificent fancy ball, given by Lady North and Major Dickson, at Waldershare. More than 250 were present, amongst the number being the Marquis of Hastings, the Earl and Countess of Mount-Charles, Lady Edith Hastings, Lady Grey de Ruthyn; Mr. and Lady Victoria Kirwan, Lord Henry Paget, the Hon. C. North, Sir Norton and Lady Knatchbull, Sir Keith Jackson, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Sir John Fagge, Sir Courtenay and Lady Honeywood, Mr. Butler Johnstone, M.P., Mr. Mackinnon, M.P., Sir Luke Smithett, Mr. and Mrs. Bagge, General Stotherd, R.E., Captain and Mrs. Churchward,

Mr. and Mrs. Hughes Hallett, Colonel and Mrs. Montresor, Colonel and Mrs. Burton, Mr. Pemberton, Mr. and Mrs. Ramsbottom, the Rev. C. and Mrs. Lamotte, and Colonel Macqueen.

The following were some of the costumes :—

Countess of Mount-Charles	Dress of George II.'s reign.
Lady North	Costume, time of Louis XIV.
Lady Victoria Kirwan	Madame de Pompadour.
Lady Edith Hastings	Costume, time of George II.
Lady Honywood	Madame de Pompadour.
Lady Knatchbull	French costume.
Miss Eden.....	Court dress, time of George II.
Mrs. Ewart	Vivandière of 78th Highlanders.
Mrs. Lamotte	Queen of Hearts.
Mrs. Ramsbottom	Costume, time of George I.
Mrs. Deedes	Costume, time of George II.
Mrs. Bell	Mary Queen of Scots.
Mrs. Montresor	Leah.
Mrs. Plummer	Diana.
Mrs. Walter Paul	Night.
Miss Churchward	Maritana.
Miss Lyall.....	Persian costume.
Miss Smithett	An Albanian lady.
Mrs. Hesketh	Undine.
Miss Stotherd	As Snow.
Miss Rochfort	As Summer.
Miss Poynter.....	Costume of Charles II.
Miss Hughes Hallett.....	Priestess of the Sun.
Marquis of Hastings.....	Charles II.
Earl of Mount-Charles	An officer of Life Guards, 17th century.
Lord Henry Paget.....	Cavalier Trooper.
The Hon. Cecil North	Page to Queen Anne.
Mr. Butler-Johnstone, M.P.	Costume, time of Louis XV.
Captain Churchward.....	Lord Strafford.
Captain Forbes, 78th.....	Highland costume (1745).
Lieutenant Lecky, 78th	A Bedouin Arab.
Sir Luke Smithett.....	Marquis de Millaflor.
Mr. Oxenden.....	Albanian dress.

Lieutenant Richardson, 78th ...	A sailor of Marseilles.
Dr. Ottaway	Chinese costume.
Lieutenant Stourton, 78th	A sailor.
Captain Beaumont.....	Spanish costume.
Lieutenant Murray, 78th	Greek sailor.
Lieutenant Smith, 78th	A wandering minstrel.
Lieutenant Thorpe, 78th	Ditto.
Ensign D. A. G. C. Graham, 78th..	Costume, time of George I.

Some excellent amateur theatricals were also got up, both the 78th Highlanders and 85th Light Infantry (then quartered at Dover) possessing many capital actors, the Royal Artillery contributing one or two. Captain Garnier, who was staying for a time at Dover, and who was a most admirable performer, undertook, I think, the management. The non-commissioned officers and men of the 78th also acted "Rob Roy," "The bonnie Fish-wife," and several other plays.

During the temporary absence of the Brigadier, I was for some little time in command of the troops at Dover, and whilst holding that position had the honour of receiving the Crown Prince of Prussia on his arrival from the continent. He was most kind and gracious, and I was much struck by his frank manner and soldierlike bearing.

In the spring of the year 1864, Major-General Sutton, who had been transferred from Shorncliffe to Dover, died after a short illness, at his residence near the castle. He had taken a particular fancy to the 78th, and left instructions that his body was to be carried to the grave by non-commissioned officers of the regiment. The funeral was attended by the whole of the troops in garrison, and I had to perform the melancholy duty of acting as one of the pall-bearers. On the

arrival of the procession at the cemetery, the coffin, in accordance with the poor old General's wish, was removed from the gun-carriage on which it had been conveyed, by six sergeants of the 78th, and carried by them to the grave, a salute of eleven guns being fired from a battery of the Royal Artillery at the conclusion of the Burial Service, that being the number to which a Major-General is entitled.

Colonel C. H. Ellice, C.B. (now General Sir Charles Ellice, K.C.B.) succeeded Major-General Sutton in the command of the troops at Dover. Not long afterwards the garrison received a visit from the Duke of Cambridge, and on the termination of the inspection his Royal Highness, who was accompanied by his Military Secretary, Major-General Forster, K.H., and the Deputy-Adjutant-General, Colonel Sir Alfred Horsford, K.C.B., lunched with the officers of the 78th, in their mess-room at the Shaft Barrack.

In the month of May I spent a few days with some friends at Hampton Court Palace, accompanying them to Epsom races on the Derby Day. A short time before the great race came off, Mr. Frank Geary (now Sir F. Geary), with whom I was staying, came up and whispered in my ear, "Blair Athole is to win." He seemed to be quite certain about it, and as I had the greatest confidence in his judgment, had I been a betting man a favourable opportunity presented itself for laying out some money, the horse being, if I remember rightly, at seventeen to one. As, however, I never bet, I lost my chance of making some one else miserable, Blair Athole coming in first.

Not only was my friend able to tell who would win the Derby, when he was awake, but he also had the power of finding out the secret in his sleep; as he told me that on one occasion, long before Epsom races were to take place, he dreamt that he was on the course, and that he saw a horse win the Derby which he had never heard of. He at once referred to the list of entries, and found that there was actually a horse of that name, which had never been mentioned in the betting. He decided at once to back it; and when the all-important day arrived, this most mysterious animal won the race. Some will probably not credit what I have written, but I believe the story is nevertheless perfectly true; and if so, my friend certainly had a most agreeable and satisfactory "nightmare."

Hampton Court is one of the prettiest places I have ever seen, and the trees in the park are magnificent. I saw there a wonderful vine, the largest, I think, in England.

The officers of the 78th had during the winter given several small dances, but as the regiment was now likely shortly to leave Dover, it was decided to ask everybody to a farewell ball, which took place at the "Apollonian," on the 31st May, the room being ornamented with innumerable stars of swords, bayonets, dirks, and ramrods, with stags' heads and other decorations. Everybody was invited, and amongst those present were Lady North and Major Dickson; Sir Charles and Lady Forbes; Brigadier-General and Mrs. Ellice; General and Mrs. Sargent; Lady Mabella and the Misses Knox; Mr. D. Magens; General and

Miss Stotherd; Captain Bruce, R.N.; Captain Mends, R.N.; Colonel and Mrs. Fisher; Captain Walker, R.E., and Mrs. Walker; Captain, Mrs., and Miss Chamier; Mr., Mrs., and Miss Churchward; Mr. and Mrs. Ottaway; Lieutenant Morgan, R.N., and Mrs. Morgan; Colonel, Mrs., and the Misses Farrant; Mr. George Forbes; Mr., Mrs., and the Misses Russell; Mr. and Mrs. Willets, and Miss Baker; Colonel, Mrs., and the Misses Giradot; Sir Luke and Miss Smithett; Mrs. and Miss Storey; Captain and Mrs. Hesketh; Mrs. and the Misses Foss; Mrs. and the Misses Broughton; Mrs. and the Misses Gordon; Captain, Mrs., and the Misses Campbell; Mr. and Mrs. Mackay; Mr. and Mrs. Crichton; Captain, Mrs., and the Misses Saunders; the Misses Webster; Major, Mrs., and Miss Travers; Mrs. and the Misses Browne; with many officers belonging to the garrison of Dover and the camp at Shorncliffe.

The sergeants of the 78th Highlanders also gave several dances to their friends during the stay of the regiment in the South Eastern district. I attended several of them, and they were always admirably managed and kept up with the greatest spirit.

On the 10th June I was present with my wife at another State ball, at Buckingham Palace.

In the course of the summer the regiment was inspected by Brigadier-General Ellice, C.B., and a copy of the following letter was subsequently received :—

“ Horse Guards, 10th Sept, 1864.

“ Sir,—Adverting to the confidential report for the first period of this year, made by Brigadier-

General Ellice, at Dover, upon the 78th Regiment, now under your command, I am directed to acquaint you that the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief was much pleased with the excellent state of discipline and efficiency in which that corps appears to be, and to request you will communicate to it, and to Colonel Ewart who commands it so well, his Royal Highness's unqualified approval.

“I have, &c.,

(Signed) “A. HORSFORD, D.A.G.

“General the Right Hon. Sir George Brown, G.C.B.,
“Commanding in Ireland.”

Towards the end of July orders were received for the 78th Highlanders to be held in readiness to proceed to Dublin; the 85th Light Infantry, under Colonel Grey, having some time previously been replaced by the 13th Light Infantry, under Colonel Lord Mark Kerr, C.B.

On the 4th August the old “Himalaya,” no longer belonging to the Peninsular and Oriental Company, but now a troop-ship in the Royal Navy, arrived off Dover; and on the following day the 78th embarked from the Admiralty Pier, the baggage being first of all sent on board. Crowds of spectators were present, and the regiment was loudly cheered as the vessel took her departure, the band playing “Auld lang syne.”

There was plenty of room for everybody in this splendid steamer; and I had two cabins for my wife and family. Captain Lacy, who commanded the “Himalaya,” seemed to be a particularly smart officer; and we had a most pleasant passage. I was not a little astonished one day, upon coming

on deck, to see one of my subalterns hanging by his legs to a rope which ran from the top of the mizen-mast to the top of the main-mast. I was terribly afraid he would fall, but he managed again to catch hold of the rope with his hands; and I then ordered him down, begging that he would on no account try that sort of thing again. This same young officer had, when at Dover, asked me for a few days' leave, which I granted, concluding that he was going up to London. Instead of this he went off in the American man-of-war "*Kersage*," to fight the "*Alabama*." Luckily, she did not on this occasion find that notorious Confederate States cruiser, but only about a week afterwards she went off again and sank her. I remember also his being the first to descend a well, when an accident had happened to one of the workmen. These are the sort of young men that come to the front on active service; and yet I doubt if he would have passed the present competitive examination, being by no means fond of study. His father once wrote to beg that I would order him to sell out, saying that his son had considerably exceeded his allowance. In my reply I not only stated that I had no power to give such an order, but that if I had I certainly should decline to do so, as he would be certain some day to distinguish himself, when the 78th again became actively employed; adding that I must ask as a particular favour that the young man might not be removed from the army. The father consented to my wishes; and when I left the 78th the would-be Blondin was still with the Ross-shire Buffs. He has, I grieve to say, since retired, and

went off, I believe, to the Papal Zouaves in search of a fight. A regiment composed of a thousand such young men would easily defeat five times that number; and my only dread is lest officers of that kind should be lost to the profession by the system of competition.

On arrival at Kingston a Staff Officer came on board to say that the 78th must land instantly, a disturbance being expected. We got on shore as soon as possible, and proceeded to Dublin by rail, when we were conducted to Beggar's Bush Barracks, and told to remain ready to turn out at a moment's notice. A great procession of some sort, I think, was taking place, but everything passed off quietly.

Shortly after arriving in Dublin I was much gratified by receiving a copy of the following letter:—

“Shorncliffe, 6th August, 1864.

“Sir,—With reference to my report of yesterday's date, respecting the embarkation at Dover of the 78th Highlanders, I think it but due to Colonel Ewart, C.B., and to the officers and men under his command, to report specially how much the duty of conducting the embarkation was lightened by the order and regularity with which they carried out the arrangements made for their embarkation; and to express my great satisfaction with the regiment, not only during the time it has been under my command, but on its departure from this district.

“I have, &c.,

(Signed) “A. A. DALZELL, Major-General.

“The Quarter-Master-General,
“Horse Guards.”

One of the first persons to welcome me on reaching Dublin was my first Commanding-Officer, Colonel A. Tennant, who had some years before retired on full pay from the 35th Regiment. I was very glad to see him again; and he shortly afterwards dined with me at mess, on one of our guest-nights. His delight at finding himself once more at a mess-table was evidently great, and he seemed thoroughly to enjoy the band and pipers. As his house was at some little distance, and as he was getting on in years, I walked home with him, and we shook hands. Alas! I never saw him again; and a paragraph in a newspaper conveyed to me the sad intelligence that he had died a week or two afterwards. I experienced great kindness from him in the island of Mauritius, and was truly sorry at his death.

Dublin is a cheerful quarter; and at the time I speak of there was a very nice Staff, my old friend Wetherall being Deputy-Quartermaster-General, and that most excellent fellow Colonel Kenneth D. Mackenzie, Deputy-Adjutant-General; the Military Secretary being Colonel Whitmore, also a most popular officer. I had the honour, one evening, of dining at the Royal Hospital with Sir George Brown, who had a long talk with me about Crimean days, and did not once tell me that my hair wanted cutting.

In the month of August I visited the far-famed Lakes of Killarney, accompanied by my wife and little girl. We put up at the Victoria Hotel, situated close to the lower lake, and on the day after our arrival engaged ponies and rode through the Gap of Dunlo to the upper lake, calling on our

way at a cottage kept by (I believe) a granddaughter of the celebrated Kate Kearney, where we procured some refreshment, obtaining afterwards a little "mountain dew" from the fair daughters of Erin who inhabit the mountain passes. On reaching the upper lake I was much struck by the excessive grandeur and beauty of the scenery, which cannot, I think, be surpassed. It was, indeed, well worth going many miles to see; and I strongly recommend all those who have never visited these marvellous lakes to do so at once. After procuring a boat, we pulled to one of the numerous islands and had our dinner, returning to our hotel by the lower lake.

Between the two lakes there was, I remember, a very pretty cottage, and in the lower lake were some more islands, one of them containing a most interesting ruin, which we inspected. Before leaving Killarney we visited Muckross Abbey, now also in ruins; it contained several curious old monuments, and we were very glad we had not omitted to go there.

Shortly after returning to Beggar's Bush Barracks we paid a visit to the Curragh Camp, being most kindly entertained at luncheon by Major-General the Hon. A. Hamilton Gordon and his very nice wife. This camp possesses a great advantage over the one at Aldershot, as in consequence of the beautiful green turf which exists there it is quite free from dust.

On the 21st September the 78th Highlanders were inspected in the Phoenix Park by Major-General C. W. Ridley, C.B., commanding the troops at Dublin. He afterwards inspected the barracks, regimental

books, and necessaries, and was good enough on the termination of the inspection to express his unqualified approbation, remarking that he could not expect to see any corps in a better state of discipline.

My career with the Ross-shire Buffs was now, alas ! drawing to an end. For some time previously I had been urged to retire on half-pay, my wife's relatives not wishing her to go abroad. I was also desirous, if possible, of doing something for the senior Major of the regiment, Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel McIntyre, C.B., a most excellent and deserving officer, who had been most unfortunate in his promotion, and who had entered the army about fifteen years before me. I accordingly endeavoured to ascertain if, in the event of my leaving the 78th, I should have any chance of obtaining a certain Staff appointment, then likely in a few months to be vacant. The reply seemed on the whole to be favourable, and I accordingly forwarded an application for permission to retire on half-pay, which was granted.

Early in October I issued my "farewell" order, and took leave of a regiment for which I shall ever entertain the most affectionate regard. Before the end of the month my retirement to half-pay was gazetted, and Colonel McIntyre succeeded to the command of the 78th (in which distinguished corps he had passed the long period of forty years, and seen much hard service), without its costing him a sixpence for obtaining the step. It was the least I could do for him, after his previous disappointments.

CHAPTER IX.

Officers and their pay—Exchanges—*Esprit-de-corps*—Localization—Recruiting—Pensions—Training schools.

It was with great sorrow that I quitted the 78th Highlanders, for although the command of a regiment is not altogether a bed of roses, I know of no more pleasant situation, and would willingly resign my rank of General to once more fill the post. As Lieut.-Colonel of the Ross-shire Buffs, I was peculiarly happily placed, for on joining them, in the year 1859, I found myself with two excellent Majors, Brevet Lieut.-Colonels Henry Hamilton and Colin McIntyre, both Companions of the Bath, and both officers of great experience and ability. The departmental officers were also very good, Captain Webster (afterwards one of the Military Knights of Windsor) being an admirable Paymaster; Mr. Skrine, a first-rate Quartermaster; and Lieutenant Barker, a capital Adjutant. The general body of officers, too, was everything that I could wish; the non-commissioned officers highly intelligent and zealous; and the men willing, respectable, and well-conducted. I was also most fortunate as regards the Ensigns who were subsequently appointed, namely, A. J. Carstairs; W. Thorp; J. R. Meiklam; G. E. Lecky; R. L. Dalglish; E. P. Stewart; A. J. Stourton; Colin Mackenzie;

H. H. Stepney; D. A. G. C. Graham; Oliver Graham; H. G. Grant; J. N. McAdam; C. K. McCausland; G. J. Pitt Taylor; B. G. Jarvis, and W. F. M. Kirwan; all of whom were gentlemanlike young men, and attentive to their duties. In inserting copies of the official letters which, from time to time, arrived after the various inspections by general officers, I have not been influenced by any desire to sing my own praises; but as no history of the services of the 78th Regiment has been published since the year 1825, I am desirous that such honourable testimony to the excellent state of the corps when I had the pleasure of belonging to it should be handed down; a state of perfection not in any way attributable to myself, but to the great exertions and cheerful obedience of those whom I had the honour and happiness to command.

The Commanding Officer of a regiment fills undoubtedly a position of great responsibility, not the least important part of his duties, being the watchful eye he is bound to keep over the expenses of his younger officers; he is, in fact, as it were *in loco parentis*. No person ever expects, or even wishes, to see an old head on young shoulders, and the greatest possible allowance must always be made for youth and inexperience; still a Lieut.-Colonel should always try, with a firm but kindly hand, to check that hospitable tendency to entertain everybody which exists in the mind of the British subaltern. Few know the difficulties which the latter has to contend against in consequence of the smallness of his pay, and I will here, by way of enlightening those who have never

served in the army, say a few words upon the subject.

The nominal charge for the mess dinner varies in the infantry from 2*s.* 3*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* per diem, but the mess expenses of an officer amount to a great deal more than this.

Every regiment has what is called the Mess Fund, to which every officer, on appointment, must pay an entrance subscription of thirty days' pay, with an annual contribution afterwards, not to exceed eight days' pay, at the discretion of the Commanding Officer.

This fund serves to cover such expenses as the following: the wages and liveries of the mess servants; occasional purchases of plate, linen, glass, cutlery, and cooking utensils, with repairs to ditto; hire of furniture for mess-room and ante-room; annual allowance to mess-men (usually about 30*l.*), with a small occasional outlay for sundries.

Besides the expenses which come against the Mess Fund, there are many others charged monthly against the officer, and these I will next enumerate. They are as follows: coals, candles, washing the mess linen, cook's wages, newspapers and periodicals, public guests, and liquor for the band on guest-nights; whilst in summer there is also a charge for ice. These last expenses amount on an average to 1*l.* monthly for each officer, or 8*d.* per diem. This must be added to the daily charge for the mess dinner, which we will put at 2*s.* 4*d.*; and as an officer usually takes a glass of ale (for which he pays 2*d.*), the daily cost of the mess dinner will be 3*s.* 2*d.*

An officer's breakfast costs about 1s. a day, which makes a total of 4s. 2d. for breakfast and dinner. Now 4s. 2d. a day is exactly 76l. 0s. 10d. a year, and if to this be added the annual contribution to the Mess Fund, which for an ensign, at four days' pay only, will be 1l. 1s., and the annual contribution to the Band Fund, which for an ensign at eight days' pay (it may be, and often is, twelve days) will be 2l. 2s., we arrive at a total of 79l. 3s. 10d.

The sum usually paid by an officer to his servant is 10s. a month, and the charge for washing is about the same. These two items make the annual expenses 91l. 3s. 10d. altogether.

As an Ensign's pay is 95l. 16s. 3d. there will just remain 4l. 12s. 5d. to pay the wine bills.

Government grants annually to every regiment serving at home what is called the "Queen's allowance." It is 25l. per annum for each troop or company; so a regiment with ten companies would receive 250l. In many regiments this is expended by crediting daily to every officer who drinks wine after dinner the sum of 6d. or 8d., the surplus going to the mess fund; and in order to prevent any officer from drinking at the expense of others, an allowance of wine has generally been established of one bottle between every three officers drinking after dinner. If, therefore, three, four, or five take wine, one bottle will be the allowance; if six, seven, or eight, two bottles; if nine, ten, or eleven, three bottles, and so on. Anything called for in excess of this allowance is charged only against those who drink it. Now, as a bottle of mess port or sherry usually costs

3*s.* 6*d.*, deduct 8*d.* for each of three officers drinking, and the actual charge against the officer will be only 6*d.* for about three glasses of wine. Sixpence a day is not much, but it nevertheless amounts to 9*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* a year, and to meet this, as I have shown above, only 4*l.* 12*s.* 5*d.* remained.

What I have just stated was the usual method formerly of disposing of the Queen's allowance; but on assuming command of the 78th, I directed that it should be applied entirely to the diminution of the mess expenses. Officers were in consequence not obliged to drink wine in order to benefit by it, all deriving equal advantage. In old days, when grog-parties were the fashion, Commanding Officers were right in trying to induce their officers to take a glass of wine after mess instead of going off to indulge in brandy-and-water; but the old custom of drinking spirits has happily passed away, and an officer can now go quietly to his barrack-room, and enjoy his book in peace; or, if he prefers it, join a quiet rubber in the ante-room, where the points should always be limited to 6*d.*

Wine during dinner is charged only amongst those who drink it, but it is impossible for an officer to invite a friend to mess without drinking wine both at and after dinner; and when champagne and claret are produced—which they usually are once a week, namely on what is called the guest-night—an officer will seldom get off under 10*s.* or 12*s.* for wine for himself and one friend. It will hardly do, therefore, to put down less than 2*l.* a month for wine; and I have said nothing about luncheons or cigars, and friends will sometimes

drop in. Of course if an Ensign never touched wine, and made a rule never to ask any one to mess, or to indulge in a luncheon or cigar, he would have his 4*l.* 12*s* 5*d.* to the good; but this could hardly ever be expected to happen.

And now, after this statement I will simply ask the question, how are the tailors' and shoemakers' bills to be paid, or the occasional railway journeys, and other incidental expenses? Under the purchase system an officer generally had something besides his pay to live upon. I had myself as an Ensign an allowance of 80*l.* a year, and I could not very well have got on without it. Under the new competitive system we cannot expect this to be always the case, and I can assure every one that even a Captain (deducting his income tax) has hard work to manage on his pay alone. When I say hard work, I mean that he must be very careful about his expenditure.

A Lieut.-Colonel, with all his cares and responsibilities resulting from the charge of a regiment, and after serving in various climates, receives but 385*l.* per annum; and even from this 3*s.* per diem is deducted whenever he proceeds on leave of absence.

Very glad was I to see the other day that officers were once more to be permitted to exchange; for how else can those who have no friends rich enough to help them, right themselves when, through the smallness of their pay, they have incurred debts which were in many cases almost unavoidable? Those who wished to put a stop altogether to exchanges can never, I feel sure, have thoroughly understood the difficulty—indeed,

I may say in the case of a subaltern, the impossibility, except in India—for an officer to live upon his pay. Surely it is better to give an officer an opportunity of paying off what he owes, than to drive him from a service to which he is perhaps devotedly attached. It is always in the power of the military authorities to prevent any exchange from taking place which may be represented as likely to be injurious either to a regiment or to an individual. No British officer ever likes to make a complaint, but as I am now personally uninterested in the subject, I venture to express a hope that some increase of pay may ere long be given to regimental officers, more especially as the price of nearly everything has of late years so much increased.

Great changes have lately taken place in the army, and whilst hoping that they may eventually be productive of the good which those who originated them doubtless anticipated, I cannot refrain, as an old Commanding Officer, and one who was ever devotedly attached to his profession, from touching lightly on one which, I greatly fear, will some day lead to disastrous results. I allude to what is termed the “linking” of regiments.

To the first twenty-five on the list, each of which has two battalions, and to the 60th Rifles and Rifle Brigade, which have four, the matter is not of so much consequence; but as regards the remaining eighty-three regiments of the line, no step could well have been taken more likely to be destructive to that *esprit-de-corps* which has ever been the great mainstay of the British army. Hitherto every officer and man has looked upon

his regiment as his home; how will it be possible for either to do so, with the chance at any moment of being suddenly removed from it? A recruit joins, and gets posted to a company. He has, as every soldier has, his comrade, to whom he gets attached, and he begins to like his Captain, and the company generally. The Captain also begins to like the man, sees, perhaps, that he has a good education and is intelligent, and holds out to him the prospect of becoming a non-commissioned officer after he has served a little longer. Everything is going on well and pleasantly, when suddenly an order comes for so many men to be sent off to the linked battalion, and all is spoilt.

No one who has not served in a British regiment can thoroughly understand the extraordinary love which exists in every member of it, from the Colonel to the youngest drummer-boy, for the corps to which he belongs. Is it desirable to diminish this feeling? I humbly think not. How, too, can a Commanding Officer take proper interest in his battalion when he feels that he is merely drilling his men for the purpose of completing another regiment? How, too, can soldiers ask their friends at home to enlist into their corps, when they know not how soon they may be separated? Recruiting will suffer also in other ways, for men will not enlist with the same readiness when they find that there is a probability of their not being allowed to remain in the regiment of their choice.

No, let each British regiment stand alone, and let each try, as of old, which can do most to maintain the glory of the British army and the honour

of the country. *Esprit-de-corps* has gained many a battle, and carried forward many a weary soldier. Let not those who have the power to maintain it part with what can never be regained.

Surely it would be a good plan for regiments when on foreign service to be composed of fourteen companies, eight to be abroad and six at home. The latter could then, in the event of war, be at once easily converted, by means of volunteers from the militia, or men belonging to the reserve, into strong battalions; and with the addition of the regiments at home, the militia, and the volunteers, the country would then possess a powerful army, capable of repelling any invasion.

Each regiment on returning home could always easily be reduced to ten companies; for many soldiers like remaining on the stations to which they have been sent (this is especially the case in India), and such as wished to do so could always be allowed to volunteer. The country would thus be saved the expense of sending out so many drafts, and the regiments returning home would not suffer, as on arrival in England they would be joined by the men belonging to the other six companies, the extra officers being gradually absorbed, some being given their choice of transfer to corps going abroad, on their increase from ten to fourteen companies.

The principle of the new localization system is a good one, but I doubt the wisdom of having so many brigade depôts as they are called. It would I think be far better to have a larger number of divisional commands, each General to have military charge of so many counties, and to be held

strictly responsible that the different regiments under him are ready to take the field at a moment's notice. Small camps could be formed in the summer, and the troops, including militia and volunteers, properly practised in brigade movements and outpost duties. An army in good working order could then be at any time got together, the brigades accustomed to their brigadiers, and the divisions to their divisional leaders. Much of the confusion which will inevitably arise in the event of war breaking out (and it is sure not only to happen some day, but also to be sudden), would thus be avoided.

At present there is but one General for the whole of Scotland; whilst Ireland, in addition to the General in chief command, possesses only four others, one of whom is at Dublin, and another at the Curragh Camp.

The six-company depôts which I have recommended should always be stationed as far as possible in the counties to which they respectively belong, the same rule also applying to regiments serving at home.


It would be a good rule if no soldier was permitted to marry until he had been in the army nine years, when he could be sent to the depôt and granted the indulgence.

The "short service" system is, I consider, a grievous mistake. Men will not at the age of eighteen give up their trades simply for the purpose of serving a few years in the army, with the knowledge that little is to be gained by their so doing, but on the contrary much to be lost. How too are regiments ever to be kept up to

their proper strength, or to be really efficient, if just when after great labour and expense the recruits have been turned into good soldiers, they are to be discharged?

My opinion is perhaps not of much value, and I am well aware that those who have taken part in the government of the country are men of far higher talent and ability than so humble an individual as myself; I must, however, assert that the only method of obtaining good recruits, and of at the same time making them contented and happy as soldiers, is to hold out the prospect of a good pension. By far the best plan would be to enlist men for a period of twenty-five years, eighteen of which to be passed in the regular army, and seven in the reserve; a pension of one shilling per diem to be granted at the termination of the eighteen years, and an increase of sixpence a day on the completion of the full period of twenty-five years. By this means we should be always sure of the reserve appearing when wanted, insomuch as no man would like to lose his prospect of the increased pension; the individuals composing it too would all be thoroughly well-trained soldiers, and they could in case of an emergency easily be incorporated with the six-company depôts alluded to above. Such a reserve as this would be worth having, and it could be formed without injuring the fighting line.

A corporal who has served five years as such, should receive a pension of one shilling and sixpence a day at the end of his eighteen years' service in the line, to be increased to two shillings a day on completion of the seven years.



reserve. A sergeant who has served five years as such, should receive a pension of two shillings and sixpence a day at the end of his eighteen years, to be increased to three shillings a day on completion of the seven years in the reserve. A colour-sergeant who has served five years as such should receive three shillings a day pension at the end of his eighteen years, and three and sixpence on completion of his seven years in the reserve. A sergeant-major or quartermaster-sergeant who has served five years as such, should each receive a pension of four shillings a day at the end of the eighteen years, and a further increase of sixpence a day on completion of the seven years in the reserve, in consideration of the arduous and responsible duties which they both have to perform.

An increased rate of pension is far better than an increased rate of pay, for the latter plan would probably bring with it an increase of crime and sickness. Soldiers are now comfortably housed, and well cared for in every way, and have many advantages which civilians do not possess, such for example as free lodgings and medical attendance, food at a moderate cost, excellent reading-rooms and libraries, fives-courts and cricket-grounds, and a great portion of their clothing gratis. The rate of pension I have named may at first sight appear high, but it will not be found so if due consideration is given to the high price of meat, and the present high rate of wages. A good pension will also *stop much desertion*, and thereby save expense.

Whilst on the subject of recruiting, I would also earnestly impress upon the minds of those

who govern, the necessity of establishing without loss of time, several military training establishments for boys. The royal navy have the "Implacable," "Impregnable," and other training ships, and the merchant service possess theirs, and naval officers know what admirable sailors are produced from those vessels. Why then should this system be totally ignored in the army? Thousands of boys could be obtained, who would in course of time, if well looked after, and placed under officers of tact, ability, and a kindly disposition, become first-rate soldiers. There might be a little expense at first starting, but in the end a great deal of money would be saved to the country, for we should require fewer jails and fewer policemen. Think too of the happiness of saving these poor lads from a career of vice and misery! Often when sitting on the bench as a county magistrate, do I feel how greatly the number of prisoners would be diminished, if steps were taken to train boys for the army, instead of allowing them to run wild in the streets. If the military authorities will only try the experiment I feel sure it will succeed, and become in the end a blessing to the country.

After leaving the 78th, I spent the winter of 1864-65 at Callington, proceeding in the month of March to Devonport, on a visit to my eldest brother, then in command of the gunnery ship "Cambridge," and on the 20th April, my third son (Walter Douglas) was born, at 20, Tamar Terrace, Stoke-Damerell.

Lord Templetown was the General in Command at Plymouth, and I had the pleasure of dining

with him more than once. Sir Charles Fremantle was the Naval Commander-in-Chief, and Rear-Admiral Symonds, a very young-looking man for his rank, had the Dockyard; the former was good enough to take me on board a large Turkish man-of-war, which did not seem in particularly good order, the guard of marines who received the Admiral, looking dirty.

After leaving Stoke-Damerell we spent a few days at Teignmouth, a nice, quiet place, with beautiful sands for bathing, and then returned to Staffordshire. On the previous 1st April the Staff appointment for which I had applied had fallen vacant, but unfortunately shortly after my quitting the 78th, the then Minister of War decided to reduce a number of dépôt-battalions, and it was very properly given to one of the Lieut.-Colonels compulsorily placed upon half-pay. It was a great disappointment to me, but I felt the justice of what had been done. Not long afterwards the remaining dépôt-battalions were also reduced, together with some colonial corps, and I saw that my chance of employment on the Staff was for a time at an end. I therefore settled down quietly in the village of Tatenhill, distant only a mile from the residence of my wife's father, and proceeded to devote myself to the education of my children. There, on the 24th October, 1869, my fourth and youngest son (Ronald Adrian Mackenzie) was born.

I had still my duties as Queen's Aide-de-Camp to attend to, but I cannot say that they were severe, consisting merely of attendance at levees and drawing-rooms, with an occasional review.

The largest drawing-room at which I was ever present was that held by the Prince and Princess of Wales, shortly after their marriage. It lasted several hours, and seemed almost as if it would never come to an end. I do not know any prettier sight than a drawing-room, and as Aide-de-Camp I had an opportunity of observing all the ladies pass Her Majesty. Many are the beautiful faces that I have seen, the fair Princess who came to us from the shores of Denmark, and who is regarded with so much respect and affection by every one in the kingdom, outvying all in grace and loveliness.

The state concerts at Buckingham Palace, to which I was occasionally invited, were always a great treat, the best singers in London being invariably engaged.

On the 13th June, 1872, I lost my appointment as Aide-de-Camp to the Queen, on promotion to the rank of Major-General, but was much gratified in the following month of January by receiving a letter informing me that I had been granted the pension of 100*l.* per annum awarded to certain officers for distinguished or meritorious services.

And now, as all military duty had ceased, and as domestic events possess no interest for others, I will lay down my pen, and bring my story, such as it is, to a close.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.

The Allahabad Division.

SINCE the foregoing pages were written it has fallen to my lot to be again employed in India, this time in command of the Allahabad Division, which includes the large cities of Cawnpore, Allahabad, Benares, and Patna, the towns of Futtehpore, Mirzapore, Ghazipore, Arrah, Dinapore, and Mozufferpore, the fort of Chunar, and the small military station of Segowlie, near the Nepaulese frontier.

In the year 1877 the troops belonging to the division were distributed as follows:—

ALLAHABAD.

(Divisional Head-Quarters.)

Staff.

Lieut.-General J. A. Ewart, C.B., Commanding the Division.
Major R. S. Robertson, Staff Corps, Assistant-Adjutant-General.

Captain H. B. Hanna, Staff Corps, Deputy-Assistant-Quartermaster-General.

Major H. D. E. W. Chester, Staff Corps, Deputy-Assistant-Commissary-General.

Captain M. Clementi, Staff Corps, Deputy-Judge-Advocate.

Captain C. F. Gleig, 22nd Regiment, Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant-General for Musketry.

Captain G. B. Wolseley, 65th Regiment, Brigade-Major
(acting Aide-de-Camp).
Major H. G. Saunders, Staff Corps, Paymaster.
Lieutenant F. F. R. Burgess, Staff Corps, Deputy-Paymaster.
Major F. V. Eyre, Royal Artillery, Commissary of Ordnance.
Major H. B. Sanderson, Staff Corps, Cantonment Magistrate.
Captain T. Doyle (unattached), Barrack-Master.
Deputy-Surgeon-General J. Gibbons (British forces).
Deputy-Surgeon-General J. P. Walker (Native troops).
Surgeon-Major J. B. S. Brown, Medical Storekeeper.
Surgeon-Major W. Ashton, Staff Surgeon.
Rev. A. H. Etty, M.A., Chaplain.
Father Petronius, Roman Catholic Chaplain.
Rev. J. Williamson, M.A., Presbyterian Chaplain.
Colonel J. M. Macintyre, Royal Artillery, Commanding
Artillery in the Division.
Captain H. S. Clive, Royal Engineers, Executive Engineer.

Troops.

E Battery, 4th Brigade, Royal Artillery : Major Anderson.
7 Battery, 11th Brigade, Royal Artillery : Captain Rawlins.
1st Battalion, 5th Fusiliers : Colonel W. Roberts.
16th Bengal Cavalry : Major J. Upperton.
34th Bengal Native Infantry : Lieut.-Colonel G. J. Pasley.
Allahabad Volunteers : Major C. A. Dodd, Staff Corps.
East Indian Railway Volunteers : Major N. S. Carter.

CAWNPORE.

Staff.

Colonel H. R. Drew, Staff Corps, Commanding.
Captain W. G. Thomas, 25th Regiment, Brigade-Major.
Major J. Stewart, Royal Artillery, Superintendent of Harness
and Saddlery Factory.
Lieutenant H. P. Willoughby, Royal Artillery, Assistant-
Superintendent ditto.
Lieut.-Colonel A. McKenzie, Staff Corps, Assistant-Com-
missary-General.
Major F. Wheeler, Staff Corps, Cantonment Magistrate.
Surgeon-Major J. B. Hamilton, Royal Artillery, Staff Surgeon.
Rev. J. F. Scobell, M.A., Chaplain.

Troops.

F Battery, 5th Brigade, Royal Artillery : Major the Hon.
A. B. de Montmorency.
1st Battalion, 3rd Buffs, Colonel T. A. Cox, C.B.
15th Bengal Cavalry (Mooltanee) : Lieut.-Colonel G. A.
Prendergast.
31st Bengal Native Infantry (Punjaub) : Colonel E. G.
Langmore.
Cawnpore Volunteers : Captain F. N. Wright.

BENARES.

Staff.

Colonel W. H. Lowther, Bengal Infantry, Commanding.
Captain H. O. Cumberlege, 39th Bengal Native Infantry,
Station Staff Officer.
Captain H. Barton, Staff Corps, Executive Commissariat
Officer.
Lieut.-Colonel W. T. McGrigor, Staff Corps, Cantonment
Magistrate.
Surgeon-Major C. C. Dempster, Army Medical Department,
Staff Surgeon.
Rev. F. Jermyn, M.A., Chaplain.

Troops.

D Battery, 4th Brigade, Royal Artillery : Major J. K.
Holdsworth.
Wing 92nd Gordon Highlanders : Major J. C. Hay.
1st Bengal Native Infantry : Lieut.-Colonel L. H. P. de H.
Larpen.
Detachment 2nd Bengal Cavalry.

DINAPORE.

Staff.

Colonel R. T. Leigh, 3rd Bengal Native Infantry, Com-
manding.
Captain S. B. Home, Station Staff Officer.
Colonel J. Emerson, Staff Corps, Cantonment Magistrate.
Captain R. Patch, Staff Corps, Sub-Assistant-Commissary-
General.
Deputy-Surgeon-General J. Irving, Indian Military Service.
Surgeon M. D. Moriarty, Staff Surgeon.
Rev. A. G. A. Robarts, M.A., Chaplain.

Troops.

C Battery, 11th Brigade, Royal Artillery : Captain L. H. S. James.

109th Regiment : Colonel A. A. P. Brown.

3rd Bengal Native Infantry : Colonel R. Blair.

Detachment 2nd Bengal Cavalry.

CHUNAR FORT.

Staff.

Major R. F. Angelo, Staff Corps, Commanding.

Surgeon F. W. Wright, Garrison Surgeon.

Troops.

European Invalid Battalion.

Detachment 5th Fusiliers.

Detachment 1st Bengal Native Infantry.

SEGOWLIE.

Staff.

Colonel O. Wilkinson, C.B., Commanding.

Troops.

2nd Bengal Cavalry.

Behar Mounted Rifle Volunteers : Major Collingridge.

The field batteries at Allahabad, Cawnpore, Benares, and Dinapore, were relieved in 1878 by those of Majors Warter, Boyle, Dixon, and Pemberton respectively (B 4, O 5, B 3, and F 3). Major Reid's battery of Garrison Artillery (2. 9) relieving 7. 11 at Allahabad. The 1st battalion 5th Fusiliers was replaced at Allahabad by the 2nd battalion 22nd Regiment; the 1st battalion 3rd Buffs, at Cawnpore, by the 2nd battalion 6th Regiment; the 109th Regiment, at Dinapore, by the 65th Regiment; and the wing of the 92nd Highlanders, at Benares, by a wing of the 40th Regiment.

Some changes also took place amongst the native troops, the 35th Bengal Native Infantry succeeding the 34th at Allahabad, and a wing of the 16th Bengal Native Infantry taking the place of the 31st at Cawnpore. The 6th and 7th Bengal Native Infantry were also both for a short time at Cawnpore.

The above-mentioned regiments were commanded as follows:—

2nd Battalion 22nd Regiment : Lieut.-Colonel H. E. Glass.

2nd Battalion 6th Regiment : Lieut.-Colonel H. B. Feilden.

65th Regiment : Lieut.-Colonel L. S. Warren.

Wing 40th Regiment : Captain M. Morphy.

35th Bengal Native Infantry : Lieut.-Colonel G. C. Rowcroft.

Wing 16th Bengal Native Infantry : Major W. B. Cubitt, V.C.

6th Bengal Native Infantry : Colonel G. H. Thompson.

7th Bengal Native Infantry : Lieut.-Colonel H. R. B. Worsley.

Towards the end of 1878 Colonel Drew was succeeded in the command at Cawnpore by Colonel A. C. Bunbury, and in 1879 Colonel Lowther in the command at Benares by Lieut.-Colonel W. F. Bartleman. At Dinapore, Colonel Leigh had previously been replaced by Colonel R. Blair.

In the autumn of 1877 Captain G. A. White, 40th Regiment, was appointed Brigade-Major at Allahabad, vice Wolseley, and Major Lockhart became Assistant-Quartermaster-General in succession to Captain Hanna. Early in 1878 Colonel A. G. Forsyth resumed the duties of Assistant-Adjutant-General to the division, which had been temporarily performed by Major Robertson. In 1879 Captain Brownrigg, of the Rifle Brigade, replaced Major Lockhart, who proceeded to Simla.

The duties of Deputy-Judge-Advocate were performed for a considerable time by Lieutenant W. H. F. McMullen during the absence of Captain Clementi.

In 1878 Major T. J. Quin became Cantonment Magistrate at Allahabad, the Rev. A. Robinson was appointed Chaplain, and Major G. Lamb, Royal Artillery, Commissary of Ordnance. The senior Medical Officers at this time were Deputy-Surgeon-General J. Hendley for British forces, and Deputy-Surgeon-General J. Adley for Native troops. Surgeon-Major J. B. Hannah had previously succeeded Surgeon-Major Ashton as Staff Surgeon.

Major Chester was replaced as Executive Commissariat Officer by Major H. G. Waterfield, and before my departure Captain A. J. Shepherd had been appointed Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant-General for Musketry, Lieutenant Collins succeeding Major Doyle as Barrack-Master.

In 1878 Captain Armit succeeded Major Clive as Executive Engineer, and Colonel E. W. E. Walker relieved Colonel Macintyre in the command of the Royal Artillery.

It was my wish that Lieutenant Seymour C. H. Monro, 72nd Highlanders, should be appointed my Aide-de-Camp, but he unfortunately had not sufficient service. The duties of the appointment were therefore performed temporarily by Captain Wolseley, 65th, Lieutenant Gall, 5th Fusiliers, Captain Carthew, 16th Bengal Cavalry, Lieutenant Bromfield, 22nd, and Captain Butlin, 22nd, all of whom were most attentive.

The principal work in connexion with a division

is carried on in the offices of the Assistant-Adjutant-General and Assistant-Quartermaster-General, and I was exceedingly fortunate in having at the head of those departments such excellent officers as Colonel Forsyth and Major Robertson in the former, and Lieut.-Colonel Lockhart, and Captains Hanna and Brownrigg in the latter. Captains Wolseley, 65th, White, 40th, and Thomas, 25th, were all capital Brigade-Majors. The other departmental officers also all performed their respective duties to my entire satisfaction.

It is with sincere regret that I have just heard of the deaths, by the terrible landslip at Naini-Tal, of Doctor Hannah, my late most attentive Staff-Surgeon at Allahabad, the Rev. Alexander Robinson, the much respected Chaplain at the same station, and Captain Goodridge, Adjutant of the 35th Native Infantry; also of Major Morphy, who commanded the wing of Her Majesty's 40th at Benares, and Mrs. Morphy.

Allahabad is greatly improved since the days of the mutiny, a large town where the English families reside, having sprung up. The latter is quite separated from the native city by the East Indian Railway, and extends for about three miles, the prettily-built bungalows being intersected by numerous charming drives, planted on each side with rows of beautiful trees, the Thornhill and Canning Roads being especially lovely.

On the site of the old Native Infantry lines, where the 6th Native Infantry so cruelly murdered their officers in 1857, an extensive park has

been formed ; and here once a week the band plays of an evening, all the world usually collecting, some in carriages, some on horseback, and others on foot.

Several large public buildings now ornament Allahabad, and I must particularly mention the Mayo Memorial, the Roman Catholic Cathedral, the Thornhill Memorial, and the Muir College. The former was opened on the 14th March, 1879, by Lord Lytton, who made one of his usual excellent speeches on the occasion. An English Church is in course of construction near the railway station, but although it promises to be a handsome one, it is at present not half finished, and funds are sadly wanted. All those who are willing to help in the good work, and who have more money than they know what to do with, cannot do better than send a subscription at once to Augustus Harrison, Esq., the Principal of Muir College, who takes the deepest interest in everything which tends to the welfare of those around him.

The Rev. J. Stephenson is the Civil Chaplain at Allahabad, and the service is very nicely performed in his church, which is, however, much too small for so important and extensive a station. There is a very nice Presbyterian Church, with an excellent minister (the Rev. J. Lillie), and the Nonconformists have lately built one.

The new barracks, erected about eight years since, are admirable ; in fact as fine as any in India. They are occupied by the British Infantry Regiment and the Royal Artillery ; the Native troops residing in huts, for which they receive an annual allowance, and which they keep up themselves.

The fort is a large one, situated at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna rivers, and about four miles from the barracks. It was originally built by Akbar, and occupies a position of great strategical importance. The old palace is now used as an arsenal. Inside the fort is an underground temple, which the Hindoos regard with the greatest possible reverence, hundreds of pilgrims arriving daily to visit a dead branch of a tree deposited there, and which is stated by the attendant priests to be constantly putting forth green leaves. The story is implicitly believed by the natives, but it is beyond doubt that small fresh shoots are conveyed into the fort by the priests, and cunningly fixed into the dead wood during the night. These clerical impostors also show to visitors a small passage in the temple, which they declare leads to Benares, a distance of over seventy miles! It is simply the remains of an old drain. An ancient and very beautiful column stands in the centre of the fort, and close by on the bank of the Ganges, an enormous Hindoo god, lying on his back, holds his daily levees.

The only other place of interest at Allahabad is the Kushru Bagh, a large walled garden, in which are three mausoleums, surmounted by marble domes, erected to the memory of the two Princes Purvez and Kushru and the Begum Jehangir.


The junction of the Ganges and Jumna is considered by all Hindoos as the most sacred spot for bathing, and on certain great festivals a wonderful sight may be witnessed, thousands of

pilgrims being in the water at the same time. The collecting together of such an enormous mass of natives is highly objectionable in a sanitary point of view, and when the cholera visits Allahabad, it usually commences in the fort.

A very nice convent, called St. Mary's, stands at Papamhow, on the banks of the Ganges, about two miles from Allahabad. It contains about fifteen nuns, who keep a girls' school, which, is exceedingly well managed. I used often to ride out there, and was always most kindly received, and treated to some excellent music and singing, either by the sisters or their pupils, one of the former (a German) having a superb voice.

At Allahabad there is a high school for boys, and another for girls, both excellent, and well presided over, the former by the Rev. L. Phillips, and the latter by Miss Arthur. There is also a free school in the native city.

Allahabad being one of the four cities in India where the High Courts sit, has a large and very pleasant society. The five judges in 1877 were the Hon. Sir Robert Stuart (Chief Justice), the Hon. F. Pearson, the Hon. Charles Turner (since knighted, and now Chief Justice at Madras), the Hon. Robert Spankie, and the Hon. Richard Oldfield. Mr. W. Chichele Plowden was the Commissioner; Mr. H. Lushington, Judge of the Lower Court; and Mr. Quinton, Collector and Chief Magistrate. The latter office was subsequently held by Mr. A. M. Markham, and Mr. Simson has replaced Mr. Plowden, who has gone to Meerut. Mr. Douglas Straight, a most cheery companion,



and a most hospitable man, has succeeded Judge Turner.

It would occupy too much space to enumerate all the civilians holding high positions at Allahabad. Several barristers reside there, and when the Lieut.-Governor of the North-West Provinces is present, he is of course accompanied by numerous officials.

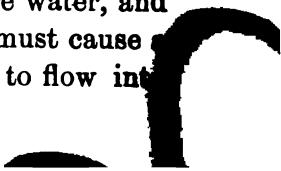
During the months of November, December, January, and February, many balls and amateur theatrical performances take place. Cricket and polo also go on to a great extent, together with lawn tennis and Badminton parties. The entertainments given at Government House by Sir George and Lady Couper, when about forty usually sat down, were very cheerful, as were the parties at the houses of the different Judges.

Amongst those who distinguished themselves on the boards of the Railway Theatre, I must especially mention Gall and Chancellor, of the 5th Fusiliers ; Butlin, Wolseley, Holmes, Goldsmid and Lundy of the 22nd ; Russell of the artillery, Montresor of the 16th Bengal Cavalry, and Macmullen of the 18th Bengal Cavalry. Those who saw the burlesque on Macbeth, will not readily forget the appearance of Doctor Lundy in his kilt, mounted on a donkey.

Races take place in the cool season, the principal supporters in 1877-78 being Surgeon-Major Tippetts, Captains Butlin and Goodridge, Mr. A. M. Markham, and Mr. George T. Spankie. The latter (an old Marlborough boy) was the captain of the polo team, and a first-rate player.

The cricket and polo clubs at Allahabad, were both good, and usually won their matches. On one occasion a great dinner was given at the North-Western Provinces Club at Allahabad, to celebrate a victory at polo gained over the Lucknow Club. A large and very merry dinner also took place at the same club on St. Andrew's day in 1877, on which occasion the Gordon Highlanders were good enough to lend us an excellent piper. We had one cricket-match against a Parsee eleven, who came all the way from Bombay, and played admirably, although they were beaten.

With the month of March, out-of-door amusements come to an end, and then commences a most trying season—Allahabad, situated as it is in the plains, without a hill for miles round, being probably the hottest place in India. Between seven a.m. and five p.m. it is almost impossible to stir out, from 1st April until the warm weather ends; and when the hot winds blow, those who venture outside experience a sensation somewhat similar to swallowing flames of fire. The thermometer not unfrequently stands at 100° indoors, and utter prostration comes on. When the regular rains set in, which they usually do in July, the hot winds cease and people begin to get about a little; unfortunately, however, with the rains cholera also almost invariably appears, generally too of a very bad kind. Doctors differ as to the cause of this terrible disease, but it is, I think, mainly the result of drinking impure water, and it can be readily seen that the rains must cause a vast amount of abominable drainage to flow into



the various wells. Filth of all kinds is not only deposited by the natives all over the country, but the soil removed at night from the thousands of bungalows must also be buried somewhere. The greatest possible care should be taken that night-soil is conveyed to a distance from any well, and as far as possible from a barrack.

The command of a division in India is not a difficult matter, but I freely admit that the sanitary arrangements caused me much anxiety. Fever is also very prevalent at Allahabad for some time after the rains, and on one occasion about 300 men of a native regiment were down with it at the same time. Small-pox carries off a large number of the natives at Allahabad, but a case rarely occurred amongst the troops.

In India, cholera kills a far greater number of our soldiers than shot and shell, and I do not know a worse foe to deal with. Little credit is gained by a victory over it, and yet an attack from so insidious an enemy is far more to be dreaded than one from visible opponents. Whenever a case of cholera occurs in a barrack, the troops should be instantly moved from the building in question into tents, another camp being at the same time pitched three or four miles off. In the event of a second case occurring, the troops should again be moved at once, a third camp being got ready about ten or twenty miles distant, care being taken that GOOD water is at hand. It is very desirable that the various camps should be prepared BEFOREHAND, as should the weather be very wet, the mischief is often aggravated by ordering

the troops to move and pitch tents on ground thoroughly soaked and damp. The greatest promptitude is necessary in dealing with cholera, a delay of twenty-four hours being often fatal to many lives. Before troops are permitted to re-occupy a barrack in which cholera has broken out, an interval of three weeks should be permitted to elapse, the rooms in the mean time being carefully disinfected and white-washed.

Most of the European residents in the plains of India take flight to the hills during the hot weather, some going off to Simla, some to Naini-Tal, and others to Mussoorie or Darjeeling. I never visited either of them myself, preferring to stick to my post. A change to the hills is a necessity for ladies or children.

Of course I had occasionally to visit the various stations in my division on inspection duty, and it was with a curious feeling that I arrived once more at Cawnpore. The railway from Calcutta was completed long ago, and as I drove in Colonel Bernard's carriage from the station to his bungalow, near the Ganges, I passed close by the spot where my arm was knocked off. A beautiful Memorial Church has been built on the former site of Sir Hugh Wheeler's ruined intrenchment, which has been pulled down.

My visit to the well into which the bodies of the murdered women and children were all thrown, was a sad one. The house in which the massacre took place, together with many others which stood near, has been pulled down, and beautiful gardens now surround the well, over which the marble statue of an angel has been erected, with

a suitable inscription underneath. Inside the railing which encloses the gardens is a small cemetery, in which is found the grave of poor Woodford, of the Rifle Brigade, killed in Windham's fight.

The well into which the bodies of my poor cousin and his wife were thrown, and in which many of those who died when defending Wheeler's intrenchment were buried, has also been railed round, and a large cross has been erected over it. This well is a mile and a half distant from the other, and is situated quite close to the extensive range of barracks, commenced before the mutiny, and now occupied by the British regiment stationed at Cawnpore.

I visited the compound in which my left arm was buried, and could not help wondering whether the jackals had allowed it to remain in peace. Let us hope so.

A sad air of desolation pervades Cawnpore, and numerous are the deserted bungalows to be seen on all sides. The native lines in rear of which the 93rd were posted, when the cannon-shot struck me, have been pulled down, and the Oudh and Rohilcund Railway now passes over the spot; a new and rather nice hotel, called the Empress, kept by a Parsee, standing a short distance from where some of the guns of the Gwalior men were placed near the canal.

From Cawnpore I went on to Lucknow, where great changes have taken place. A broad road has been made right through the Secunder-Bagh, leading down to a bridge over the Goomtee, and the inner court, in which my bonnet was shot off

my head, has been pulled down. The hole through which we entered, at one of the corners, can still be seen, but the rebels seem to have partially bricked it up previous to Sir Colin's final capture of Lucknow, in March, 1858.

The large building called in the despatches the barracks, but in reality the King of Oudh's stables, has been wonderfully altered, as exactly half of it, together with the centre tower, has been pulled down, so that instead of resembling a cross, it is now perfectly straight, and is called Lawrence Terrace. In its former state it was well suited for defensive purposes, and the authorities have acted wisely in dismantling both it and the Secunder-Bagh. The Martinière remains much as it used to be, and is now a boys' school. Close to it is the grave of poor Hodson.


The Dilkúsha and Alumbagh are both complete ruins. I visited Havelock's grave, which is nicely kept; and my daughter was presented by the gardener in charge with some beautiful roses which grew near it.

The Residency is also a complete ruin, but the remains are most carefully looked after; and it was with a melancholy interest that I wandered about, and thought of the good Sir Henry Lawrence and others, who so nobly fell in its defence. Lord Clyde, Outram, Havelock, Adrian Hope, Inglis, Lord Sandhurst, Lowe, William Peel, Walter Hamilton, Stisted, Hope Grant, Anson, and many others, who were present at the relief of Lucknow have since passed away. Banks's House is now the residence of Sir George Couper, Lieut.-Governor of the North-West Provinces and

Oudh. A large new military cantonment has been formed between the Dilkúsha and Alumbagh, usually occupied by a British cavalry regiment, two British infantry regiments, a force of artillery, and some native troops. There are some beautiful gardens at Lucknow, and it is the most interesting place in India.

Benares continues much as it used to be. A new barrack is sadly wanted there, and the artillery stables are bad. The native city is interesting, as it contains innumerable temples and shrines. In one a number of sacred cows are kept; and in another, about 1000 sacred monkeys, all of whom have a very fine time of it, as they are incessantly being fed. The best view of Benares is to be obtained from the Ganges; and the plan is to take a boat very early in the morning, when the natives are usually bathing by thousands, the scene being very lively and amusing. The only drawback are the corpses floating down the stream, many with vultures seated on the top of them. The better class of Hindoos burn their dead, but the poorer simply throw them into the river—the Ganges, if possible. After I had been some little time in India, I made it a rule never to eat any fish.

On every occasion of visiting Benares, I invariably met with the greatest kindness and attention from the Maharaja, who resides in a very nice palace on the opposite side of the Ganges. His carriages and boats were always at my service, and on my crossing over to see him, he sent elephants to the landing-place, and received me with a guard of honour. His heir




resides with him, and a dear little boy, son of the latter, who was very prettily dressed, and who sat by my side. I was shown a photograph-book, containing likenesses of the Prince and Princess of Wales, and other members of the royal family, of which the Maharaja seemed very proud. He must now be upwards of seventy years of age.

I made the acquaintance when in India of three other Maharajas, namely, Sindia, Rewah, and Durbhunga. The former remained for some days at Allahabad, and on his arrival, in addition to a salute of twenty-one guns (to which he was entitled), I gave him a guard of honour and a small escort of native cavalry. He seemed much pleased at my going down to meet him at the railway-station, and also at my afterwards calling on him. On his asking where I had lost my arm, I merely answered "at Cawnpore," omitting the fact that it was carried away by a shot from one of his own guns. Fortunately for himself, when his troops all mutinied he remained faithful to the British Government. Why he is considered in India, in these days, to be haughty and disagreeable, I cannot imagine, as I have seldom met any one with more pleasant manners. He has a very handsome and intelligent face. No doubt he would like to get back the fortress of Gwalior, and possibly that is a sore point.

The Maharaja of Durbhunga is only twenty-one, he speaks English as well as he does his own language.

When on my inspection tours, I was always most hospitably entertained at Benares by Colonel and Mrs. Lowther. On one occasion, when driving



with the latter, the carriage unfortunately came to grief ; we were neither of us hurt, and a native gentleman, who was passing, civilly drove us home. The 92nd Gordon Highlanders, under Major Hay, got up some capital Highland games in the year 1878, afterwards performing " Rob Roy " at the theatre.

The fort of Chunar is distant about twenty miles from Benares, and is situated close to the Ganges. It was of service as a place of refuge during the mutiny, but the authorities in India are now thinking of dismantling it. Major Angelo, the very efficient commandant, was most good-natured, a room in his bungalow being always prepared for me.

Dinapore, distant about 130 miles beyond Benares, on the way to Calcutta, is purely a military station, the civilians of the district residing at Bankipore, which is six miles from Dinapore, and the same distance from Patna. A new barrack is wanted at Dinapore, the present one being old, and at times flooded by the river. The situation is not a good one, the parade-ground being honey-combed, and unsafe for those on horseback. I was present at two very pleasant dances given by the 65th, a very pretty Mrs. Hume being at the first, and an equally pretty Mrs. Boileau at the second. Most agreeable are my recollections of the comfortable bungalows belonging to Lieut.-Colonel Wolseley and Major Byam.

The ladies of Allahabad are celebrated for their beauty, and many fair faces are to be met with throughout India.

To get from Dinapore to Segowlie the best

plan is to take the railway to Barrh, which is forty-five miles nearer to Calcutta; a small branch-line then conveys passengers to the Ganges, which is crossed in a steamer; after which there is another railway journey of three hours and a half to Mozufferpore, in Tirhoot.

The remainder of the journey to Segowlie must be travelled in a palanquin, unless, as was the case on the occasion of my first visit, horses can be borrowed from the various indigo planters who reside along the line of road. Gartside-Tipping, of the 2nd Bengal Cavalry, most kindly met me with his dogcart, and we drove the whole distance of sixty-eight miles, being most hospitably entertained *en route* at the houses of Mr. Collingridge, Mr. Fraser, and at another factory which I remember was exactly half way. He also drove me back.

The 2nd Bengal Cavalry, under that first-rate soldier Colonel O. Wilkinson, C.B., remained at Segowlie during the whole period of my command. It was a perfect treat to see the regiment at tent-pegging and lime-cutting. Nearly every man used to turn out for these exercises, and the pegs and limes were rarely missed. Segowlie being close to the frontier of Nepaul, there is a good view on clear days of the mountains in that country.

In 1879 I engaged a palanquin and sixteen bearers at Mozufferpore; and after sleeping for one night at the bungalow of Mr. Wilson, who had three nice daughters, and who was most obliging in every way, started for Segowlie, getting there very easily the next evening, in company

with Major Chatfield, Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant-General, and Captain Knowles, 2nd Bengal Cavalry.

On my return journey I was quite alone, and was much amused by the proceedings of my bearers, who frequently left the main road for the purpose of taking short cuts across country, passing through many very prettily situated villages. Four men carry a palanquin, the remaining twelve following behind, and relieving in turn. The usual pace is something between a walk and a run, and about five miles an hour on the average. A chowdry, or mate, has charge of the party, and makes all arrangements.

The natives in India are the most contented race I have ever seen. They are excessively kind to their children, and have but few wants, being most temperate in all things. My native servants at Allahabad, of whom I had about twenty-five, were excellent, and I never was more faithfully served. Nothing can exceed the willingness and attention of native servants, if well treated.

There is one terrible risk to which the natives are exposed when at work in the fields, of which those who reside in England have but little notion. An idea of the danger will be gained when I mention that in the year 1879 no less than 17,388 persons, and 1874 animals, were killed by snakes alone. In the same year there were also killed by wild animals 53,138 cattle, and 2924 human beings. It is some consolation to know that during the twelvemonths 132,961 venomous snakes, and 18,641 wild animals were

destroyed, about one lakh of rupees having been paid by the Government for their destruction. Wolves are chiefly to be met with in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

Having taken part in the suppression of the great mutiny of 1857, I now willingly offer my testimony to the present excellent state of the native troops, so far as they have come under my own more immediate supervision. A thoroughly good spirit seems to pervade both officers and men, and the various regiments are to be quite depended on. In saying this much, I would at the same time advise that great care should be taken in the selection of the commanding officers. Firmness of character, combined with tact and consideration, are the essentials required. To all those who are about to enter the Staff Corps with a view to joining native corps, I would strongly recommend the advisability of treating the men kindly, and of avoiding all irritating language. A complaint should always be listened to quietly, and the cause carefully investigated. When this is not done, trouble not unfrequently arises. The Pathans are especially excitable; and, like our own Highlanders, they have a strong feeling of clan-ship, for which due allowance should always be made.

The Sikhs are magnificent soldiers, and the native regiments of the Bengal army are now largely composed of them. So long as they remain faithful to the Government we have not much to fear as regards the future of India; but if the Sikhs ever become disaffected—and there

is an idea amongst them that they will some day regain their independence—it will be difficult to hold the great extent of country we at present occupy. Some more Goorkha regiments should be raised.

A few more British officers are required in the native regiments. At present the number in both cavalry and infantry is seven; and as two are usually absent on leave, and not unfrequently one sick, the regiment is often left with only four, which is scarcely sufficient. In addition to the commandant, there should be ten other British officers. For the information of those who have not served in India, I may as well mention that each troop or company in a native corps has two native officers. Many of the latter are very good, but in time of war the men require to be led by British officers, whom they will follow anywhere.

It has sometimes occurred to me that it would be a good plan if the Government in India were to establish at all large stations industrial schools, where Eurasian (half-caste) boys could be trained and instructed. Many of them, if properly fed, would make excellent soldiers, and Eurasian regiments might then be formed who could always be depended on.

Some Englishmen consider that anything is good enough for a native. The Sowars and Sepoys certainly do not require the same comforts and food as British soldiers, but their wants should nevertheless be attended to.

At present the native regiments are well commanded. May it be always so. The cavalry are

admirable on outpost duty, and it would hardly be possible to find better troops than those of the Bengal army.

Some Madras infantry regiments passed through Allahabad *en route* to the north, and I took the opportunity of inspecting one or two of them, finding the *physique* of the men better than I expected, and the general appearance very satisfactory. All troops passing through Allahabad halt for about twelve hours at a rest-camp, which is always pitched close to the railway about the 1st of October, standing until the season for moving troops comes to an end, which it does in the month of April.

In proceeding out to India I travelled *via* Paris, Turin, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Brindisi, remaining for a day or two at each. It is unnecessary to describe these places, as full information can be obtained on reference to the pages of *Murray*. On my way home I spent a week in Egypt; and as my eldest son met me at Suez, we took a look at the Sphinx and Pyramids, the largest of which he explored, entering on all fours through a small hole. Cairo is a most amusing place. From Alexandria we took a passage in the "Pera" steamer to Brindisi, visiting in succession Naples, the ruins of Pompeii, Rome, Florence, Venice, Milan, and Paris. All who can afford the time and money should spend a month at Rome. Very beautiful is the monument by Canova in St. Peter's to "The Last of the Stuarts." I gazed at it for some time with sad interest. No one should omit to visit the three churches of San Giovanni in Laterano,

Santa Maria Maggiore, and St. Paul's. The latter is a short distance outside the walls of Rome. It has been lately built, and is magnificent.

On the 1st October, 1877, in consequence of the Royal Warrant directing the retirement of all general officers over seventy years of age, I found myself suddenly promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General. As divisions in India are commanded by Major-Generals, this promotion had the effect of considerably shortening my period of command; for although the Minister of War was good enough, on the recommendation of his Royal Highness the Field-Marshal-Commanding-in-Chief, to sanction my retention of the command until the 30th November, 1879, this permission only enabled me to hold the appointment for two years and eight months, instead of the full period of five years; a serious loss in a pecuniary point of view. It is, however, as the old proverb tells us, "an ill wind that blows good to nobody," and doubtless my successor rejoiced.

In saying "good-bye" to Allahabad I parted with many friends, and shall never forget the kindness received from Sir George and Lady Couper, Sir Robert and Lady Stuart, Sir Charles and Lady Turner, Mr. and Mrs. Oldfield, Mr. Spankie, Mr. and Mrs. Chichele-Plowden, Colonel and Mrs. Forsyth, Mr. Lushington, Mr. and Mrs. Quinton, Mr. Markham, Major and Mrs. Robertson, Major and Mrs. Dodd, and Mr. and Mrs. E. White. To the officers of the different regiments and batteries belonging to the division I also owe

a debt of gratitude for their boundless and unvaried hospitality.

It is always pleasant to return home, but it was with a feeling of regret that I saw my flag hauled down, and listened to my parting salute of thirteen guns.



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